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Essays
ON CONTEMPORARY
EVENTS

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PREFACE

MEDICAL psychotherapy has to deal with the whole of the psyche for practical reasons. Therefore it is bound to come to terms with all those factors which have a vital influence on psychic life. These factors are biological as well as social and mental.

We are living in times of great disruption : political passions are aflame, internal upheavals have brought nations to the brink of chaos, and the very foundations of our *Weltanschauung* are shattered. This critical state of things has such a tremendous influence on the psychic life of the individual that the doctor is bound to follow its effect on the individual psyche with more than usual attention. The storm of actual events does not only sweep down upon him from the great world outside ; he feels the violence of its impact even in the quiet of his consulting room and in the privacy of the medical consultation. As he has a responsibility towards his patients, he cannot afford to withdraw to the peaceful island of undisturbed scientific work, but must constantly descend into the arena of world events, in order to join in the battle of conflicting passions and opinions. Were he to remain aloof from the tumult, the calamity of his time would only reach him vaguely from afar, and his patient's suffering would find neither ear nor understanding. How could he help a patient who came to him completely isolated as a result of his own lack of understanding, for he would be at a loss to know how to talk to him. For this reason the psychologist cannot avoid coming to grips with actual events, even if his very soul shrinks from the political noise, the lies of propaganda and the jarring speeches of the demagogues. We need not mention his duties as a citizen, which confront him

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with a similar task. As a physician, he has a higher obligation to humanity in this respect.

From time to time, therefore, I have felt obliged to step beyond the usual bounds of my profession. The psychologist has a specific experience of mankind, and it seemed to me that the general public might find it useful to hear his point of view. This was hardly a far-fetched conclusion, for surely the most naïve of laymen could not fail to see that many of our contemporary figures and events were positively asking for a psychological explanation. Were psychopathic symptoms ever more conspicuous than in contemporary political events?

It has never been my wish to meddle in the political questions of the day. But in the course of the years I have written a few papers, which give my reactions to actual events. The present book contains a collection of these occasional papers, which were written between 1936 and 1946. It is natural enough that my thoughts should have been especially concerned with Germany. Germany has been a problem to me ever since the first World War—a problem which has given rise to the following papers. My statements have evidently led to all manner of misunderstandings, which are chiefly due, no doubt, to the fact that my *psychological point of view* strikes many people as new and therefore strange. Instead of embarking upon lengthy arguments, in an attempt to clear up these misunderstandings, I have found it simpler to collect all the passages in my other writings which deal with the same theme in an epilogue. The reader will thus be in a position to get a clear picture of the facts for himself.

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INDIVIDUAL AND MASS PSYCHOLOGY¹

A broadcast talk in the Third Programme of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Delivered on Sunday, 3rd November, 1946

THE indescribable events of the last decade lead one to suspect that a peculiar psychological disturbance is a possible cause. Now if you ask the alienist what he thinks about these things, you must expect to get an answer from his particular point of view. Still, as a scientist, the alienist makes no claim to omniscience, for he regards his opinion as merely one contribution to the enormously complicated task of finding a comprehensive explanation.

When one speaks from the standpoint of psychopathology, it is not easy to address an audience which may include people who know nothing of this specialized and difficult field. But there is a simple point that you should keep in mind, and it is this : psychopathology of the masses is rooted in the *psychology of the individual*. Psychic phenomena of this order are investigated in the individual. Only if one can succeed in establishing certain phenomena or symptoms, common to a number of separate individuals, can one begin to examine analogous mass phenomena. As you perhaps already know, I take into consideration both the psychology of the conscious and of the unconscious, and this includes the examination of dreams ; for dreams are the natural products of unconscious activity. We have known for a long time that there is a biological relationship between the unconscious processes and conscious mental activity. This relation-

¹ First published in *The Listener*, 7th November, 1946, Vol. XXXVI, No. 930.

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ship can best be characterized as a compensation, which means that any deficiency in consciousness—such as exaggeration, one-sidedness, or lack of a function—is suitably supplemented by an unconscious process.

As early as 1918, I noticed peculiar disturbances in the unconscious of my German patients which could not be ascribed to their personal psychology. Such non-personal phenomena always manifest themselves in dreams as mythological motifs which are also to be found in legends and fairy tales throughout the world. I have called these mythological motifs the archetypes: that is, typical *modi* in which these collective phenomena are experienced. There was a disturbance of the *collective* unconscious in every single German case. One can explain these disorders causally, but such an explanation is apt to be inadequate, for it is easier to understand archetypes by their aim than by their causality. The archetypes I had observed expressed primitivity, violence, and cruelty. When I had seen enough of such cases, I turned my attention to the peculiar mental state which was then prevailing in Germany. I could only see a certain depression and a great restlessness, but these did not contradict my suspicion. In a paper which I published at that time, I suggested that the “blond beast” was stirring in an uneasy slumber and that an outburst was not impossible. This condition was not by any means a purely Teutonic phenomenon, as became evident in the following years. The onslaught of the primitive forces was more or less universal. The only difference lay in the German mentality which proved to be more susceptible because of its marked tendency to mass psychology. Moreover, defeat and social disaster had increased the herd instinct in Germany, and so it became more and more probable that Germany would be the first victim among the western nations—a victim of a mass movement that was brought about by an upheaval of forces, forces which were lying in the unconscious, ready to break down all moral control. According to the rule mentioned before, these forces were meant to be a compensation. If such a compensatory move of the unconscious is not integrated into consciousness in the case of an individual, it leads to a

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neurosis or even to a psychosis, and the same would apply to a collectivity. Now there must be something wrong with the conscious attitude for a compensatory move of this kind to be possible ; something must be amiss or exaggerated, because only a faulty consciousness can call forth a counter-move on the part of the unconscious. Well, innumerable things have been wrong, as you know, and opinions are thoroughly divided about them. Which is the correct opinion will only be learnt *ex effectu* ; that is, we can only discover what the defects in the consciousness of our epoch are by observing the kind of reaction they call forth from the unconscious.

As I have already told you, the tide which rose in the unconscious after the first World War was reflected in individual dreams as collective, that is mythological symbols which expressed primitivity, violence, cruelty : in short, all the powers of darkness. When such symbols occur in a large number of individuals and are not understood, they begin to draw these individuals together as if by magnetic force, and thus a mob is formed ; and its leader will soon be found in the individual who has the least resistance, the least sense of responsibility and, because of his inferiority, the greatest will to power. He will thus let loose everything which is ready to break forth, and the mob will follow with the irresistible force of an avalanche.

I observed the German revolution, as it were in the test-tube of the individual case, and I was fully aware of the immense danger involved when such people crowd together. But I did not know at that time whether there were enough of such individuals in Germany to make a general explosion inevitable. However, I was able to follow up quite a number of cases and to observe how the upheaval of the dark forces deployed itself in the individual test-tube. I could watch these forces as they broke through the individual's moral and intellectual self-control, and as they flooded his conscious world. There was often terrific suffering and destruction ; but when the individual was able to cling to a shred of reason, or to maintain the bonds of human relationships, a new compensation was brought about in the unconscious by

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the very chaos in the conscious mind, and this compensation could be integrated into consciousness. New symbols then appeared, of a collective nature, this time symbols reflecting the forces of *order*. There is measure, proportion, and symmetrical arrangement in these symbols, expressed in their peculiar arithmetical and geometrical character. They represent a kind of axial system and are known as mandala-structures. I am afraid I cannot go into an explanation of these highly technical matters here, but I must just mention these difficult and almost incomprehensible things because they represent a gleam of hope, and we need hope very badly in this time of dissolution and chaotic disorder. The world-wide confusion and disorder in consciousness correspond to a similar condition in the mind of the individual ; but this lack of orientation is actually compensated in the unconscious by the archetypes of order. Here again I must insist that if these symbols of order are not integrated into consciousness, the forces which they express will accumulate to a dangerous degree, just as the forces of disorder and destruction did twenty-five years ago. Now the integration of unconscious contents is an individual act of realization, of understanding, and moral evaluation. It is a most difficult task, demanding a high degree of ethical responsibility. Only relatively few individuals can be expected to be capable of such an accomplishment, and they are not the political but the moral leaders of mankind. The maintenance and further development of civilization depend upon such individuals. It is quite obvious that the consciousness of the masses has not advanced since the first World War. Only certain reflective minds have been enriched, and their moral and intellectual horizon considerably enlarged by the realization of the immense and overwhelming power of evil, and of the fact that mankind is capable of being its mere tool. But average man is still where he was at the end of the first World War. Therefore it is only too obvious that the vast majority is quite incapable of integrating the forces of order. On the contrary, it is even probable that these factors of order will encroach upon consciousness and take it by surprise and violence, against our will.

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We can see the first symptoms everywhere : totalitarianism and State slavery. The value and importance of the individual are rapidly decreasing and the chances of his being heard will vanish more and more. This process of deterioration will be long and painful, but I am afraid it is inevitable. Yet in the long run it will prove to be the only way by which man's lamentable unconsciousness, his childishness and individual weakness can be replaced by a future man, who knows that he himself is the maker of his fate and that the State is his tool and not his master. But man can only reach this level when he becomes aware of the fact that, by his unconsciousness, he has gambled away the fundamental *droits de l'homme*. Germany has given us a most illuminating demonstration of the psychological development in question. There the first World War released the hidden power of evil, as the war itself was released by the accumulation of unconscious masses and by their blind desires. The so-called *Friedenskaiser* was one of their first victims and, not unlike Hitler, he voiced these lawless, chaotic desires and was thus led into war and into the inevitable catastrophe. The second World War was a repetition of the same psychic process but on an infinitely greater scale.

As I said before, the upheaval of mass instincts corresponds to a compensatory move of the unconscious. Such a move became possible because the conscious state of the people had become estranged from the natural laws of human existence. Because of industrialization, large parts of the population became uprooted, and they were herded together in large centres. And because of this new form of existence—with its mass psychology and its social dependence upon the fluctuation of markets and wages—an individual was created who was unstable, insecure, and suggestible. This individual was aware that his life depended upon boards of directors and captains of industry, and he supposed, rightly or wrongly, that they were chiefly motivated by financial interests. He knew that, no matter how conscientiously he worked, he could be victimized at any time by commercial changes which were far beyond his own control. And

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there was nothing else for him to rely upon. Moreover, the system of moral and political education prevailing in Germany had already done its utmost to permeate everybody with a spirit of dull obedience, and with the conviction that every desirable thing must come from above, from those who by divine decree sat on top of the law-abiding citizen, whose individual feeling of responsibility had been overruled by a peculiar sense of duty. No wonder, therefore, that it was precisely Germany which fell a prey to mass psychology, though it is by no means the only nation threatened by this dangerous germ. The influence of mass psychology has spread far and wide.

It was the individual's feeling of weakness, and indeed of non-existence, which was compensated by the upheaval of hitherto unknown desires for power. It was the revolt of the powerless and the greed of the "have-nots". By such ways the unconscious forces man to become conscious of himself. Unfortunately, no categories of value existed in the conscious mind of the individual, which would have enabled him to understand and to integrate the reaction when it reached consciousness. Nothing but materialism was preached by the highest intellectual authority. Our religious organizations were evidently simply unable to cope with this new situation, or the effect would have been visible. The churches could do nothing but protest and that did not help very much. Thus the avalanche kept on rolling in Germany and created its leader, who was chosen as a tool to complete the ruin of the nation. But what was his original intention? He dreamed of a "new order". We should be badly mistaken were we to assume that he did not really intend to create an international order of some kind. On the contrary, deep down in his being he was moved by the factors of order, which began to become operative in the moment when desirousness and greed had taken complete possession of his conscious mind. Hitler was the exponent of a "new order", and that is the real reason why practically every German fell for him. The Germans intended order, but they made the fatal mistake of electing the foremost victim of disorder and

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unchecked greed for their leader. They did not understand that not one of them had changed his individual attitude : just as they were greedy for power, they were also greedy for order. But they remained greedy all the same. With the rest of the world, they did not understand what Hitler's significance was, namely that he was a *symbol for every individual* : he was the most prodigious personification of all human inferiorities. He was a highly incapable, unadapted, irresponsible, psychopathic individual, full of empty, childish phantasies, but cursed with the keen intuition of a rat or guttersnipe. He represented the shadow, the inferior part of everybody's personality, in an overwhelming degree, and this is another reason why they fell for him.

But what could they have done ? In Hitler, every German should have seen his own personal shadow, his own worst danger. It is everybody's allotted fate to become conscious of and learn to deal with this shadow. But how could the Germans be expected to understand this, when nobody else in the whole world can understand such a simple truth ? The world cannot reach a state of order unless this truth can be generally recognized. Yet in the meantime, we amuse ourselves by seeking all sorts of external and secondary reasons, though we know very well that conditions largely depend upon the way in which we take them. If, for instance, the French-speaking Swiss should assume that the Alemantic Swiss were all devils, we in Switzerland could have the nicest civil war in no time, and we could also discover the most convincing economic reasons why such a war was inevitable. Well—we just don't, for we learned our lesson more than four hundred years ago. We came to the conclusion that it is better to avoid external wars, so we went home and took the strife with us. In Switzerland we have built up a so-called "perfect democracy" in which our warlike instincts spend themselves in the form of domestic quarrels called "political life". We fight each other within the limits of law and constitution, and we are inclined to think of democracy as a chronic state of mitigated civil war. We are far from being at peace with ourselves : on the contrary, we hate and fight each other,

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because we have succeeded in introverting war. Our peaceful outward manners merely serve to protect our internal dispute from foreign intruders who might disturb us. Thus far we have succeeded, but we are yet far from the ultimate goal. We still have enemies in the flesh, and we have not yet managed to introvert our political disharmonies into our personal selves. We still labour under the unwholesome conviction that we should be at peace within ourselves. Yet even our national mitigated state of war would come to an end if everybody could see his own shadow and begin the only struggle which is really worth while, the fight against the overwhelming power-drive of our own shadow. We have a tolerable social order in Switzerland because we fight among ourselves. Our order would be perfect if people could only take their lust of combat home into themselves. Unfortunately even our religious education prevents us from doing this, with its false promises of an immediate peace within. Peace may come in the end, but only when victory and defeat have lost their meaning. What did our Lord mean when He said : " I came not to send peace, but a sword " ?

Inasmuch as we are able to found a true democracy—namely a conditional fight among ourselves, either in a collective form or an individual one—we realize, we make real, the factors of order, because then it becomes absolutely necessary to live in orderly circumstances. We simply cannot afford in a democracy the disturbances of external interference and complications. How can you run a civil war properly, when you are attacked from without ? On the contrary, when you are seriously at variance with yourself, you welcome your fellow beings as possible sympathizers with your cause and on this account you are inclined to be friendly and hospitable. But you politely avoid people who want to be helpful and relieve you of your troubles. We psychologists have learnt, through long and painful experience, that you deprive a man of his best when you help him to get rid of his complexes. You can only help him to become sufficiently aware of them and to start a conscious conflict with himself. In this way the complex becomes a focus of life. Anything

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which disappears from your psychological inventory is apt to turn up in the guise of a hostile neighbour, where it will inevitably arouse your anger and make you aggressive. It is certainly better to know that your worst adversary is right in your own heart. Man's warlike instincts are ineradicable—and therefore a state of complete peace is unthinkable. Moreover, peace is uncanny because it breeds war. True democracy is a highly psychological organization which takes human nature into account as it is, and therefore makes allowance for the need of conflict within its own national frame.

When you now compare the actual German mentality with my argument, you can appreciate the simply enormous task with which the world is confronted. We can hardly expect the demoralized German masses to realize the import of such psychological truth, no matter how simple it is. But the great Western democracies have a better chance, as long as they can keep out of those external wars that always tempt them to believe in external enemies and in the desirability of internal peace. The marked tendency of the Western democracies to internal trouble is the very thing that can lead them on to the path of great hope. But I am afraid that this hope will be delayed by powers that still believe in the inverted process, namely in the destruction of the individual and in the increase of the fiction which one calls the State. The psychologist firmly believes in the individual as the sole carrier of mind and life. Society or the State derive their quality from the individual's mental condition, for they are constituted by individuals and their organizations. No matter how obvious this fact is, it has not yet permeated collective opinion sufficiently for people to refrain from using the term "State" as if it referred to a sort of super-individual endowed with inexhaustible power and resourcefulness. The State is expected nowadays to accomplish easily what nobody would expect from an individual. The dangerous incline leading down to mass psychology begins with this plausible thinking in big numbers and powerful organizations, where the individual dwindles away to mere nothingness. Yet everything that exceeds a certain human size evokes

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equally inhuman powers in man's unconscious, totalitarian demons are called forth, instead of the realization that all that can really be accomplished is an infinitesimal step forward in the individual's moral nature. The destructive power of our weapons has increased gigantically and forces this psychological problem on mankind : Is the mental and moral condition of the men who decide on the use of these weapons equal to the enormity of the possible consequences ?

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I

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Motto :

En Germanie naistront diverses sectes,
S'approchans fort de l'heureux paganisme :
Le cœur captif et petites receipts,
Feront retour à payer la vraye disme.

Propéthies de Maistre Michel Nostradamus, 1555.

WHEN we look back on the time before 1914, we seem to be living in a different age. Things are happening to-day of which we hardly dreamed before the war. We were even beginning to regard war between civilized nations as a fable, for surely such an absurdity would become less and less possible in our rational, internationally organized world. The war itself has been followed by what can only be described as a regular witches' sabbath. There are phantastic revolutions and drastic alterations of the map ; medieval and even antique prototypes reappear in the political sphere ; States swallow their neighbours and out-trump every previous theocratic attempt with their totalitarian claims ; both Christians and Jews are persecuted, and political murders take place on a wholesale scale ; finally we have just witnessed a light-hearted pirate-raid, on a peaceful, half-civilized people.²

When such events are taking place in the political sphere, we cannot be surprised if other and smaller spheres produce equally peculiar phenomena. In the

¹ First published in the *Neue Schweizer Rundschau* (*Neue Folge*, iii. Jahrgang. Heft 11), March, 1936.

² Abyssinia.

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realm of philosophy we must be patient, for the philosopher must have time for meditation before he can discover what kind of an age we live in. But the realm of religion has already produced some very significant events.

The movement of the Godless in Russia is not really surprising, for the Greek Orthodox Church had apparently become identical with its lamps and ikons and had heaped up a superfluity of rites and religious paraphernalia. One breathed a sigh of relief oneself in the Near East, when one left the incense-laden atmosphere of an Orthodox Church and entered an honest mosque where the sublime and invisible omnipresence of God was not crowded out by superfluous substitutes. However deplorable the low spiritual level of the "scientific" reaction may be, it was inevitable that the nineteenth century and its "scientific" enlightenment should dawn sooner or later on Russia.

But it is curious, to say the least of it, in fact piquant, that an old god of storm and frenzy, the long quiescent Wotan, should awake, like an extinct volcano, to a new activity, in a civilized country that had long been supposed to have outgrown the Middle Ages. We have seen Wotan come to life in the *Jugendbewegung* (youth movement), and the blood of several sheep was shed in the sacrifices which celebrated the very dawn of his rebirth. Armed with *Rucksack* and lute, blond youths, and sometimes also girls, were to be seen as restless wanderers on every road from the North Cape to Sicily, true servants of the roving god. Later, towards the end of the Weimar Republic, the wandering rôle was taken over by thousands and thousands of unemployed who were to be met everywhere on their aimless journeys. By 1933 the people no longer wandered, they marched in their hundreds of thousands. The Hitler movement brought the whole of Germany to its feet, from the five-year-olds to the veterans, and produced the spectacle of a great migration of people marking time. Wotan the wanderer was awake. He is to be seen, looking rather shamefaced, in the meeting-house of a sect of simple people in North Germany, disguised as Christ sitting on a white horse. I do not know if these people were aware of Wotan's ancient relationship to the figures of Christ and Dionysus, but it is not very probable.

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Wotan is a restless wanderer who creates restlessness and stirs up strife, now here now there, or works magic. He was soon changed into the devil by Christianity and only lived on in fast flickering out, local tradition as a ghostly hunter who was seen with his retinue on stormy nights. But the rôle of the restless wanderer was taken over in the Middle Ages by Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew, which is not a Jewish but a Christian legend. In other words, the motif of the wanderer, who has not accepted Christ, was projected on to the Jews, just as we always rediscover our own psychic contents, which have become unconscious, in other people. At any rate there is a psychological finesse here which may perhaps be mentioned : the anti-Semitic movement has coincided with the reawakening of Wotan.

The German youths who celebrated the solstice were not the first to hear a rustle in the primeval forest of the unconscious. They were anticipated by Nietzsche, Schuler, Stefan George, and Klages.¹ The literary tradition of the Rhine and the country south of the Main has a classical form that cannot easily be shaken off. Every interpretation that comes from that region, therefore, is inclined to return to a classical model, to antique intoxication and exuberance, i.e. to Dionysus, the *puer aeternus* and the cosmogonic Eros.² From the point of view of cultured people no doubt this has a more educated

¹ Ever since Nietzsche (1844-1900) there has been consistent emphasis on the "Dionysian" aspect of life in contrast to its "Apollonian" opposite. Since "The Birth of Tragedy" (1872) the dark, earthy, feminine side, with its mantic and orgiastic characteristics has possessed the imagination of philosophers and poets. Irrationality gradually came to be regarded as the ideal ; this is found, for example, all through Alfred Schuler's (d. 1923) research into the mystery religions, and particularly in the writings of Klages (b. 1872), who expounded the philosophy of "irrationalism". To Klages logos and consciousness are the destroyers of creative pre-conscious life. In these writers we witness the origin of a gradual rejection of reality and a negation of life as it is. This leads in the end to a cult of ecstasy, culminating in the self-dissolution of consciousness in death, which meant, to them, the conquest of material limitations.

The poetry of Stefan George (1868-1933) combines elements of classic civilization, of medieval Christianity and oriental mysticism. George deliberately attacked nineteenth and twentieth century rationalism. His aristocratic message of mystical beauty and of an esoteric conception of history had a deep influence on German youth. His work has been exploited by unscrupulous politicians for propaganda purposes.

² *On the Cosmogonic Eros* is the title of one of Klages' main works (first published in 1922).

sound, but perhaps Wotan is a more correct interpretation. *He is a god of storm and frenzy, he releases passions and the lust of war, moreover he is a paramount magician and a conjuror who is versed in every occult secret.*

There are many individual factors to be considered in Nietzsche's case. He was blissfully unconscious as regards knowledge of his German background ; he discovered the Philistines in the academic world. He also came to the conclusion that God was dead, and this led to Zarathustra meeting with an unknown god in an unexpected form, sometimes as an enemy and sometimes disguised in Zarathustra's own figure. Therefore the latter is himself soothsayer, sorcerer, and storm :

" Like a wind will I one day blow amongst them, and with my spirit, take the breath from their spirit : thus willeth my future.

" Verily, a strong wind is Zarathustra to all low places ; and this counsel counselleth he to his enemies, and to whatever spitteth and speweth : ' Take care not to spit against the wind ! ' "¹

This theme recurs in Zarathustra's dream (II, 51). He dreamed that he had become a guardian of graves in the " lone mountain fortress of death ". As he made great efforts to open the gate, he said :

" Then did a roaring wind tear the folds apart : whistling, whizzing, and piercing, it threw unto me a black coffin.

" And in the roaring and whistling and whizzing the coffin burst up, and spouted out a thousand peals of laughter. . . . "

The disciple, who interprets the dream, says to Zarathustra :

" Art thou not thyself the wind with shrill whistling, which bursteth open the gates of the fortress of Death ?

" Art thou not thyself the coffin of many-hued malices and angel-caricatures of life ? "²

Nietzsche's secret throws off all disguise and appears clearly, even violently, in this image. Many years before,

¹ *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, part ii, chapter 28 (Modern Library Edition, p. 111).

² *Idem*, p. 146.

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in 1863 or 1864, Nietzsche wrote in his poem *To the Unknown God* :

“ I must know thee, Unknown One,
Thou who searchest out the depths of my soul,
And blowest like a storm through my life.
Thou art inconceivable and yet my kinsman !
I must know thee and even serve thee.”

And twenty years later, in his beautiful Mistral song, he says :

“ Mistral wind, thou hunter of the clouds,
Thou killer of misery, thou sweeper of the heavens,
Thou raging storm, how I love thee !
Are we not both the first born
Of the same womb, for ever predestined
To the same fate ? ”

In the dithyramb known as *Ariadne's Lament* (IV, 65) Nietzsche is completely the victim of the hunter-god, and can no longer be freed even by the subsequent violent self-deliverance of Zarathustra :

“ Prone, outstretched, trembling,
Like him, half dead and cold, whose feet one warm'th—
And shaken, ah ! by unfamiliar fevers,
Shivering with sharpened, icy-cold frost-arrows,
By thee pursued, my fancy !
Ineffable ! Recondite ! Sore-frightening !
Thou huntsman 'hind the cloud-banks !
Now lightning-struck by thee,
Thou mocking eye that me in darkness watcheth :
—Thus do I lie,
Bend myself, twist myself, convulsed
With all eternal torture,
And smitten
By thee, cruellest huntsman,
Thou unfamiliar—GOD . . . ”¹

This vivid picture of the amazing figure of the hunter-god is evidently based on experience and cannot be explained as mere dithyrambic language. We can trace its origin in a book on Nietzsche's youth, by his sister Elisabeth Foerster-Nietzsche,² which describes an ex-

¹ *Idem*, p. 253.

² *Der werdende Nietzsche*, Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen (Munich, 1924, pp. 84 ff.).

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perience with this god when he was a schoolboy of 15 at Pforta. He was wandering about in a gloomy wood at night and after being terrified by "a piercing shriek from a neighbouring lunatic asylum", he met with a hunter whose "features were wild and uncanny". In a valley "surrounded by dense undergrowth", the hunter raised his whistle to his lips and blew such "a shrill note" that Nietzsche lost consciousness and woke up at Pforta. It was a nightmare. It is enlightening that the encounter with the hunter brought up the question of going to Teutschental,¹ for the dreamer had really intended to go to Eisleben, Luther's town. It is hardly possible to misunderstand the shrill whistling of the god of storm in the nocturnal wood.

Was it really only the classical philologist in Nietzsche that led to the god being called Dionysus instead of Wotan, or was it not perhaps the result of the fatal encounter with Wagner?

In his *Reich ohne Raum*,² which was first published in 1919, Bruno Goetz saw the secret of the coming German events in the form of a very peculiar vision. I have never forgotten this little book, for it struck me at the time as a forecast of the German weather. It anticipates the conflict between the realm of ideas and that of life; it depicts the dual nature of the god of storm and of secret meditation. Wotan disappeared when his oaks fell and reappeared when the Christian God proved too weak to save his Christians from fratricidal carnage. When the Holy Father at Rome could only lament before God, and was powerless to help the *grex segregatus* in any other way, the one-eyed old hunter, on the edge of the German woods, laughed and saddled Sleipnir.

We are always convinced that the modern world is a reasonable world, basing our opinion on economic, political, and psychological factors. But if we may forget for a moment that we are living in the year of Our Lord 1936, and may also lay aside its well-meaning, human-all-too-human reasonable attitude, and may burden God

¹ Translator's Note. The word "Teutsch" is an old-fashioned form of Deutsch. Teutschental means German valley.

² First edition, Kiepenheuer, Potsdam, 1919. Second enlarged edition, Seeverlag, Konstanz, 1925.

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—or the gods—instead of man, with the responsibility for present-day events, we should find Wotan quite suitable as a causal hypothesis. In fact I venture the heretical suggestion that the abysmal depth and unfathomable character of old Wotan explain more of National Socialism than all the three reasonable factors put together. There is no doubt that each of these economic, political, and psychological factors explains an important aspect of the things that are happening in Germany, but Wotan explains yet more. He is particularly enlightening as to the general phenomenon which is so strange and incomprehensible to the foreigner that he cannot really understand it however deeply he may consider it.

We might perhaps sum up the general phenomenon as *Ergriffenheit* (a condition of being moved or almost possessed). This expression explicitly states the existence of an *Ergriffener* (someone who is moved), but it also implies the existence of an *Ergreifer* (someone or something that moves or “possesses”). Wotan is an *Ergreifer* of men and he is really the only explanation, unless we wish to deify Hitler, a thing which has actually happened to him before now! It is true that Wotan shares this quality with his cousin Dionysus, but apparently the latter mainly exercised his influence on women. The Maenads were a kind of feminine S.A., and, according to the myths, were dangerous enough. Wotan confined himself to the Berserkers who found their vocation as the bodyguard of mythical kings.

A mind that is still childish either thinks of the gods as so-called metaphysical entia, existing in themselves, or it regards them as playful or superstitious inventions. From either point of view, the above parallel between Wotan *redivivus* and the social, political, and psychic storm might at least have the value of a parable, an “as if”. But the mind is exceeding its limits when it asserts the metaphysical existence of the gods. Such a statement is just as presumptuous as the opinion that they could be invented, for undoubtedly they are personifications of psychic forces. Not that “psychic forces” have anything to do with the conscious mind, though we are very fond of playing with the idea that the conscious mind

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and the psyche are identical. This is mere intellectual presumption, but we are afraid of the "metaphysical" and therefore have developed a mania for rational explanation. The two were always hostile brothers and it is only natural that we should fear this conflict. "Psychic forces" really belong to the unconscious. Everything that approaches us from this dark realm either comes from outside, and then we are sure that it is real, or it is considered a hallucination and therefore not true. The idea that anything can be true which does not come from outside has hardly yet dawned on mankind.

In order to promote understanding and to avoid prejudice, we could speak of the *furor teutonicus* instead of Wotan. But we should only be saying the same thing and not as well; for the *furor* in this case is a mere psychologizing of Wotan, and only tells us that the people are in a state of "fury". We should thus lose a valuable peculiarity of the whole phenomenon, i.e. the dramatic aspect of the *Ergreifer* and the *Ergriffener*, which is the most impressive part of the German phenomenon. One man, who is evidently "possessed", has infected the whole people to such an extent that everything has been set in motion and has started rolling, and is thus inevitably embarked on a dangerous course.

It seems to me that Wotan "hits the mark" as a hypothesis. Apparently he was really only asleep in the Kyffhäuser mountain until the ravens called him and announced the break of day. Wotan is a fundamental characteristic of the German soul, an irrational, psychic factor, which acts like a cyclone on the high pressure of civilization and blows it away. The worshippers of Wotan, in spite of their eccentricity and crankiness, seem to have judged the empirical facts more correctly than the worshippers of reason. Apparently every one had forgotten that Wotan represents a primeval Germanic factor, and that he is the most accurate expression and inimitable personification of a basic human quality which is particularly characteristic of the German. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, however, is a symptom which arouses the suspicion that veiled gods may also be sleeping

elsewhere. But the symptoms are evident in Germany : the emphasis on the Germanic, i.e. Aryan, race and on blood and soil, the folk customs that have been revived, the Wagalawai songs, the ride of the Valkyries, the Lord Jesus as a blond and blue-eyed hero, the Greek mother of St. Paul, the devil as an international Alberich of a Jewish or Masonic brand, the Nordic Aurora Borealis as the light of civilization, and the contempt for "inferior" Mediterranean races. All these are indispensable parts of the scenery in the drama that is taking place and at bottom they all mean the same : a god has taken "possession" of the Germans and their house is filled with "a mighty wind". It was soon after Hitler seized power, if I am not mistaken, that a cartoon appeared in *Punch* of a raving Berserker tearing himself free from his bonds. A wild, irrational storm has broken out in Germany while we still believe that the weather is following its normal course.

Things are comparatively quiet in Switzerland, though there is occasionally a puff of wind from the North or from the South. Sometimes this wind has a slightly ominous sound, sometimes it seems to whisper quite harmlessly or even idealistically, so that no one is alarmed. We are wise enough "to let sleeping dogs lie" and can live our lives reasonably well in this way. It is sometimes said that the Swiss has a particular resistance to the problem of himself. I must protest against this accusation. The Swiss *is* introspective but he would not admit it for anything in the world, even when he notices the wind in his own land. We thus pay our silent tribute to the Germanic time of storm and stress, but we never mention it, which enables us to feel vastly superior. Yet it is the German who has the best chance to learn, in fact he has an opportunity which is perhaps unique in history. He is experiencing the perils of the soul from which Christianity tried to rescue mankind, and he can learn to realize the nature of these perils in his own innermost heart.

Germany is a land of spiritual catastrophes where certain facts of nature never make more than a pretence of peace with the world-ruler reason. The disturber is

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a wind that blows into Europe from limitless and primeval Asia, sweeping in on a wide front, from Thrace to the Baltic. Sometimes it blows from without and scatters the nations before it like dry leaves, and sometimes it works from within and inspires ideas that shake the foundations of the world. It is an elemental Dionysus that breaks into the Apollonian order. We call the creator of this storm Wotan, and we can learn a great deal about his character by studying history and realizing the revolution and confusion that he has brought about in the spiritual and political world. But, in order to understand his character more exactly, we must go back to the time when mankind still used mythological language, and did not try to explain everything by man and his limited opportunities. The language of the myths reaches down to the deeper cause, to the psyche and its autonomous powers. The very earliest intuition of mankind personified these powers as gods, and described them fully and carefully according to their various characters, in the myths. This was all the more possible because it is a question of basic and permanent types or images which are inherent in the unconscious of many nations. The behaviour of the nation takes on its specific character from its underlying images,¹ and therefore we may speak of an archetype "Wotan". As an autonomous psychic factor, Wotan produces effects in the collective life of the people and thus also reveals his own character. For Wotan has a peculiar biology of his own, quite apart from the nature of man. It is only from time to time that individuals fall under the irresistible influence of this unconscious factor. When it is quiescent, one is no more aware of the archetype Wotan than of a latent epilepsy. Could the German who was already adult in 1914 have foreseen what he would be in 1935? Such amazing changes are the effect of the god of wind that "bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth". It seizes everything which is in its way and uproots any-

¹ One should read what Bruno Goetz has to say concerning Odin as the German wanderer-god (*Deutsche Dichtung*. Vita Nova Verlag, Lucerne, 1935, pp. 36 ff. and 72 ff.). Unfortunately I only read this book after I had finished my article.

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thing that is not firmly rooted. When the wind blows, all insecurity, outward or inward, is revealed.

Martin Ninck has just published a monograph devoted to Wotan¹ which is a most welcome addition to our knowledge of this god's character. The reader need not be afraid that this book is a mere scientific study written from the academic point of view. It is, indeed, very objective and does full justice to the rights of science, for the unusually complete material has been very carefully collected and clearly arranged. But, over and above all this, one feels that the author is vitally interested in his material, and that the chord of Wotan is also vibrating in him. This is no criticism; on the contrary, it is the highest merit of the book which, without this vibration, might easily have degenerated into an uninteresting catalogue. The author's *Ergriffenheit* has added life to programme, as is particularly evident in the last chapter (*Ausblicke*).

Ninck really produces a magnificent portrait of the German archetype Wotan. He describes him in ten chapters, using all the available material, as the Berserker, the god of storm, the wanderer, the warrior, the *Wunsch* and *Minne* god,² the lord of the dead and of the Einherjer, the master of secret knowledge, the magician, and the god of poets. Neither the valkyries nor the fylgia are forgotten, for they belong to the mythical surroundings and fateful significance of Wotan. Ninck's inquiry into the name and its origin is particularly enlightening. It shows that Wotan is not only the god of rage and frenzy, incorporating the instinctive and emotional side of the unconscious. Its intuitive and inspiring side also manifests itself in him, for he understands the runes and can interpret fate.

The Romans identified Wotan with Mercury, but his individual character does not really correspond to any Roman or Greek God, although there are certain resemblances. He wanders like Mercury, for instance, rules over the dead like Pluto and Kronos, and he is connected

¹ *Wodan und germanischer Schicksalsglaube*. Eugen Diederichs, Jena, 1935.

² Translator's Note. Medieval German: *Wunsch* = magical wish; *Minne* = remembrance, love.

with Dionysus by his emotional frenzy, particularly in its mantic aspect. It is surprising that Ninck does not mention Hermes, the Greek god of revelation. As Pneuma and Nous, Hermes is also connected with the wind, he would be the bridge to the Christian Pneuma and to the phenomena which took place at Pentecost. As Poimandres, Hermes is also an *Ergreifer* of men. Ninck rightly points out that Dionysus and the other Greek gods always remained under the supreme authority of Zeus, which indicates a fundamental difference between the Greek and Germanic temperaments. Ninck assumes an inner relationship between Wotan and Kronos, and the latter's defeat may perhaps be a sign that the archetype of Wotan was once overcome and split up in remote antiquity. At all events, the Germanic god represents a totality which corresponds to a primitive level, a psychological condition in which man's will was almost identical with the god's and consequently entirely in the hands of fate. But there were Greek gods who helped man against other gods, and Father Zeus approaches the ideal of a beneficent, enlightened despot.

It was not Wotan's way to stay and show signs of age. He simply disappeared, when the times turned against him, and remained invisible for more than a thousand years, i.e. he only worked anonymously and indirectly. Archetypes resemble the beds of rivers which have dried up because the water has deserted them; but it may return at any time. An archetype is something like an old watercourse along which the water of life flowed for a time, digging a deep channel for itself. The longer it flowed the deeper the channel, and the more likely it is that sooner or later the water will return. Individuals in society, and above all in the State, may control this water to a certain extent and regulate it like a canal. But when it comes to the life of the nations, the water is like a great rushing river which lies far beyond the control of man, in the hands of one who has always been stronger than man. The League of Nations was given international authority, but some people now regard it as a child in need of care and protection, and others as a miscarriage. Therefore there is no bridle on the life of the

nations and it rolls on unconsciously, with no idea of where it is going, like a rock crashing down the side of a hill, until it is stopped by an obstacle which is stronger than itself. Political events thus move from one impasse to the next, like the water in a stream that finds itself caught in gullies, whirlpools, and marshes. All human control comes to an end when the individual is caught in a mass movement and when the archetypes begin to function. We can observe the same phenomenon in the life of the individual when he is confronted with situations that cannot be dealt with in any way with which he is familiar. And we need only turn to the South or the North of Switzerland in order to have every opportunity of seeing how a so-called *Führer* behaves when he is confronted with the masses in movement.

The ruling archetype does not remain the same for ever, a fact which expresses itself, for instance, in the temporal limitation of the hoped-for reign of peace, the millennium. The father archetype of the Mediterranean, that creates order and rules justly or even benevolently, has been shaken to its foundations in the whole of the North of Europe. The present fate of the Christian Churches bears eloquent witness to this fact. Fascism in Italy and the state of Spain make it clear that the shock has been greater even in the South than one would have thought. The Catholic Church itself will not be able to afford any more tests of its strength.

The national god has attacked Christianity on a broad front under different names. In Russia, he is called technical achievement and science, in Italy, Duce, and in Germany, "German Faith," "German Christianity," or the State. The "German Christians"¹ are a contradiction in terms. They would be in a better position if they were to join Hauer's "German Faith Movement".²

¹ A National Socialist movement inside the Protestant Church which tried to eliminate all vestiges of the Old Testament from Christianity.

² Wilhelm Hauer (born 1881) first a missionary and later professor of Sanscrit at the University of Tuebingen, was the founder and leader of the "German Faith Movement". This movement tried to establish a "German Faith" founded on German and Nordic racial writings and traditions, e.g. those of Meister Eckhart or Goethe. This movement tried to combine a number of different and often incompatible trends: some of its members still accepted an expurgated form of Christianity whereas others were not only completely

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These people are decent and well-meaning, they honestly admit their *Ergriffenheit*, and they try to come to terms with this new and undeniable fact. They take an enormous amount of trouble to make it look less alarming by finding historical parallels to serve as a sort of mediating garment. This reveals consoling glimpses of great men of the past. There were the great German mystics, for instance, such as Meister Eckhart, a German, who was also *ergriffen*. The most awkward question is thus avoided, namely *who* is the *Ergreifer*? Of course, he was always "God". But—as Hauer, in his world-wide Indo-Germanic sphere, draws nearer to the Nordic side, especially to the Edda, and as the *Ergriffenheit* manifests itself in an increasingly "German" creed—it becomes more and more evident that the "German" god is the god of the Germans.

One cannot help being touched when reading Hauer's book¹ if one regards it as the tragic and really heroic attempt of a conscientious scholar. Hauer was not aware of what was happening to him, but, as a German, he was called and moved by the inaudible voice of the *Ergreifer*. And now he is trying with all his might, with all his knowledge and ability, to build a bridge in order to establish a connection between the dark life-force and the light world of historical ideas and figures. But can all these beautiful things—belonging to the past when the

opposed to any form of Christianity, but to every kind of religion or god. One of the common articles of faith, which they gave themselves in 1934, was: "The German Faith Movement aims at the religious renaissance of the nation out of the hereditary foundations of the German race" ("... aus dem Erbgrunde der deutschen Art"). One should compare this movement with a sermon preached by Dr. Langmann, an evangelical clergyman and dignitary of the Church, at the funeral of the late Gustloff. Dr. Langmann gave the address "in S.A. uniform and top boots". He sped the deceased on his journey to Hades, and directed him to Valhalla, to the home of Siegfried and Baldur, the heroes who "are feeding the life of the German people by the sacrifice of their blood", like Christ among others. "May this God send the peoples of the earth clanking their way through history." "God bless our fight. Amen." The reverend gentleman ended his address in this way, according to the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (1936, No. 249). As a service held to Wotan, it is undoubtedly exceedingly edifying, and remarkably tolerant for believers in Christ! Is the *Bekenntniskirche* inclined to be equally tolerant, and to preach about Christ shedding His blood for the salvation of mankind, like Siegfried, Baldur, and Odin among others? One can ask astonishingly grotesque questions in these days.

¹ *Deutsche Gottschau* (Grundzüge eines deutschen Glaubens (Karl Gutbrod Stuttgart, 1934).

mentality of man was different—help the man of to-day when he is confronted with a living and abysmal tribal god that he has never experienced before? He is drawn, like a dry leaf, into the roaring whirlwind, and the rhythmic alliterations of the Edda are inextricably mixed with Christian mystical texts, German poetry, and the wisdom of the Upanishads. And Hauer himself is *ergriffen* by the rich and meaningful words lying at the root of the German language, to an extent that he certainly never knew before. This is not due to Hauer, the Sanscrit scholar, nor to the Edda, for both were there before. It is a matter of the Kairos¹ whose present name is Wotan, as we find on closer investigation. Therefore, I would advise the “German Faith Movement” to throw their prudery aside. Intelligent people will not confuse them with those vulgar worshippers of Wotan whose *faith is a mere pretence*. There are people in the “German Faith Movement” who are intelligent and human enough to *believe* and moreover to *know* that the god of the *Germans* is Wotan and not the universal Christian God. This is a tragic experience and no disgrace. It has always been terrible to fall into the hands of a living god. It is well known that Jahwe was no exception to this rule. The Philistines, Edomites, Amorites, and others, who were outside the Jahwe experience, must certainly have found it exceedingly disagreeable, and the whole of Christianity suffered for a long time under the Semitic experience of the god Allah. We, who stand outside, judge the Germans as if they were responsible, active agents, but perhaps we should be nearer the truth if we were also to regard them as *victims*.

We must draw a further conclusion in order to be consistent in regarding the German events from our—admittedly peculiar—point of view: Wotan has shown himself as restless, violent, and stormy, but this is only one side of his character. He has very different ecstatic and prophetic qualities on the other side which must also become manifest in time. If this conclusion were correct, National Socialism would not be the last word. Things

¹ The present moment in time.

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must be concealed in the background which we cannot imagine as yet, but we can expect them to appear in the course of the next years or decades. Wotan's awakening is a sort of stepping back or reaching back. The river has been dammed up and has broken into its original channel. But the dam will not last for ever, it is rather a *reculer pour mieux sauter*, and the water will overflow the obstacle. Then, at last, we shall know what Wotan is saying when he "speaks with Mimir's head".¹

¹ From the *Völuspá*. The passage runs in Olive Bray's translation (*The Elder or Poetic Edda*, commonly known as *Saemund's Edda*, part i, edited and translated by Olive Bray, London, 1908. Viking Club Translation Series, vol. ii) :

Mim's sons arise ; the Fate-Tree kindles
at the roaring sound of Gjalla-horn.
Loud blows Heimdal, the horn is aloft,
and *Odin speaks with Mimir's head*.

Groans the Ancient Tree, Fenrir is freed,—
shivers, yet standing, Yggdrasil's ash.

How do the gods fare, how do the elves fare ?
All Jötunheim rumbles, the gods are in council ;
before the stonedoors the dwarfs are groaning,
a rock-wall finding— Would ye know further, and what ?

Loud bays Garm before Gaping-hel :
the bond shall be broken, the Wolf run free.
Hidden things I know ; still onward I see
the great Doom of the Powers, the gods of war.

Drives Hrym from the East holding shield on high ;
the World-serpent writhes in Jötun-rage ;
he lashes the waves ; screams a pale-beaked eagle,
rending corpses, the Death boat is launched.

Sails the bark from the North the hosts of Hel
o'er sea are coming, and Loki steering,
brother of Byleist, he fares on the way—
with Fenrir and all the monster kinsmen.

II

PSYCHOTHERAPY TO-DAY¹

A lecture given at the Meeting of Swiss Psychotherapists, Zürich, 1941

IT would be a study of the utmost importance to work out in detail the relation of psychotherapy to the situation of the European mind to-day. Yet probably no one would be blamed for shrinking from so bold an undertaking ; for who could guarantee that the picture which he has formed of the present mental and psychological state of Europe is true to reality ? Are we, as contemporaries of and participants in these cataclysmic events, at all capable of forming a cool judgment or of seeing clearly amidst the indescribable political and mental chaos of present-day Europe ? Or should we perhaps do better to narrow the field of psychotherapy, and limit our science to the unpretentious domain of a few specialists which can remain indifferent to the ruin of half the world ? I fear that however much might be said for such a course on the score of modesty, it would not accord very well with the nature of psychotherapy, which is, after all, the "treatment of the soul". The concept of psychotherapy, however widely or narrowly one may choose to interpret it, carries far greater implications, for in the last resort the soul is the place of origin of all action, and therefore of everything which happens by the will of man. It would be not merely difficult, but impossible, to carve out an arbitrarily limited section of

¹ First printed in the *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Psychologie und ihre Anwendung*, 1945, Band IV, Heft 1. Hans Huber, Berne

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the infinitely vast realm of the soul and make it into the private field of activity of a so-called psychotherapy. Medicine, it is true, has found it necessary to mark off a specific territory, that of the neuroses and psychoses ; and this is both possible and feasible for the practical purpose of treatment. But this artificial limitation must be broken through from the moment that psychotherapy regards itself not merely as a technique, but also as a science. Science as such has no boundaries, and there is no such thing as a specialism which can boast of complete self-sufficiency. When it approaches the limits of its sphere it is bound to spill over into the adjoining territory if it is to make serious claim to the status of a science. Not even so highly specialized a technique as Freudian psychoanalysis could, from its very beginning, avoid encroaching upon the sphere of other and sometimes by no means closely allied sciences. It is in fact impossible to treat the soul, and the human personality in general, sectionally. In all disturbances of the psyche it is apparent—perhaps even more so than in the case of physical illness—that the psyche is a whole in which everything is connected with everything else. When the patient comes to us with a neurosis, it is not a specialism he brings, but a whole psyche, and with it a whole piece of the world on which that psyche is dependent, and without which it can never be properly understood. Psychotherapy is therefore perhaps even less able than any other specialized department of science to take refuge in the closed circle of a specialism which has nothing more to do with the wider world. Try as we may to concentrate on the most personal of personal problems, our therapy nevertheless stands or falls by the question, from what world does our patient come, and to what world has he to adapt himself ? The world is a super-personal fact to which an essentially personalistic psychology can never do justice. Such a psychology is only valid for the personal element in man. But in as much as man is also part of the world, he carries in himself elements of the world, that is, super-personal and impersonal elements. These include his entire physical basis, and also his psychic basis in so far as this is given *a priori*. It is true

that the personalities of the father and mother form the first and apparently the only world of man as an infant ; and if they continue to do so for too long he is on the surest road to a neurosis, for the great world, which he will have to enter as a totality, is no longer a world of fathers and mothers, but a super-personal fact. The child first begins to detach from the childhood relation to father and mother through its relation to its brothers and sisters. The elder brother is not the true father, nor the elder sister the true mother. Later, husband and wife are originally strangers to one another and come from different families with a different history and often a different social background. When children come, they complete the process by forcing the parents into the rôle of father and mother, which the latter, starting from their infantile attitude, formerly saw only in others, in relation to whom they tried to secure for themselves all the advantages of the rôle of the child. Every more or less normal life thus follows the course of an enantiodromia, compelling a change of attitude from the extreme of the child to the other extreme of the parent. This change necessitates an objective recognition of objective facts and values which a child can escape. But the school makes him inexorably aware early in life of the conceptions of objective time, of duty and its fulfilment, and of outside authority, whether he likes or dislikes the school and the teacher. With the coming of school and the relentless advance of time, one objectively existing fact after another forces its way with increasing frequency into his personal life, regardless of whether or not he welcomes them or indeed whether he has any attitude towards them at all. In this process it becomes overwhelmingly clear that any prolongation of the father and mother world beyond the appropriate age must be paid for dearly. All attempts to carry over the personal infantile world into the greater world are doomed to failure, and even the transference which takes place in the course of treatment of a neurosis is at best only an intermediate stage which gives the individual an opportunity to shed all the fragments of egg-shell which still cling to him as relics of childhood, and to withdraw the

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projection of the parental imagos from outer reality. This operation is one of the most difficult tasks of modern psychotherapy. At one time it was optimistically assumed that through the analysis of their content the parental imagos could be, so to speak, disintegrated and dissolved. In reality this is not possible. The parental imagos can be freed from the state of projection and withdrawn from the external world, but they continue, like everything acquired in early childhood, to retain their original freshness. By the withdrawal of the projection they revert to the individual's own psyche, from which indeed they mainly originated.¹

Before, however, we enter on the question of what happens when the parental imagos are no longer projected, we will turn to another question : is this problem, which has been brought to light by modern psychology, a new one ; was it or was it not yet known to earlier ages which had no scientific psychology in our sense of the term ? How did this problem present itself in the past ?

Since earlier times were not in fact acquainted with psychotherapy in our sense, we could not possibly expect to find in the historical past any sort of formulation of the problem similar to ours. Since, on the other hand, the transformation of children into parents has happened always and everywhere, and since, as consciousness increased, it was also subjectively experienced as a difficult one, we should expect to find one or more general psychotherapeutical systems which enabled people to accomplish the difficult transition. We find in fact that even the most primitive peoples take certain drastic measures at all those periods of life where psychic transitions have to be effected. Among the most important of these are puberty initiations and traditional wedding, birth, and death ceremonies. All these ceremonies, which are observed with great care and exactness in primitive cultures which are still free from foreign influences, probably serve primarily to avert psychic injuries which are otherwise likely to occur at such times ;

¹ As we know, the parental imago is constituted on the one hand by the personally acquired image of the personal parents, but on the other hand by the parent archetype which exists *a priori*, i.e. in the pre-conscious structure of the psyche.

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but they are also intended to impart to the initiate the teaching and preparation necessary for life. The existence and well-being of a primitive tribe are closely dependent on the scrupulous and traditional performance of these ceremonies. Whenever these customs fall into decay through the influence of the white man, true tribal life ceases ; the tribe loses its soul and is disintegrated. Opinion is very much divided about the influence of Christian missionaries in this respect ; what I myself saw in Africa led me to take a very pessimistic view.

On a higher, more civilized level, the same task is undertaken by the great religions. We have the christening, confirmation, marriage, and funeral ceremonies ; these are generally admitted to be much closer to the original sources, more living and more complete in the Catholic ritual than in Protestantism. Here too we see how the father and mother world of childhood is dissolved by a rich system of analogical symbols ; a patriarchal order adopts the adult into a new relation of childhood by means of spiritual generation and rebirth.¹ The Pope as *Pater patrum* and *Ecclesia mater* are the parents of a family which includes the whole of Christendom, except such parts of it as protest against this. If the parental imagos were dissolved and thus rendered ineffective in the course of development, such an order would have lost not only its *raison d'être* but its possibility, and therefore could not exist at all. As it is, however, a place is found both for the still active parental imagos and for that feeling of being a child which nothing can extinguish in the heart of man. All this is provided for in this order in a meaningful way. In addition, there are a number of other institutions of the Church which safeguard the continuous progress of the connection and its renewal at intervals. These include in particular the Mass and confession. The Communion is, in the truest sense of the word, the family table at which the members gather and partake of the meal in the presence of the Deity, following a sacred custom which reaches far back into pre-Christian eras.

¹ Baptism. Compare also the text of the *benedictio fontis*.

It is superfluous to describe these things in more detail, for they are known to everyone. I merely refer to them in order to show that the treatment of the soul in the past took into account the same fundamental facts of human life as modern psychotherapy. But how differently religion deals with the parental imagos. There is no question of dissolving or destroying them ; on the contrary, they are recognized as living realities which it would be impossible or undesirable to eliminate. Religion lets them live on in a transformed and exalted form within the framework of a strictly traditional patriarchal order which holds not merely the decades but the centuries in a living connection. Just as it carries and preserves the childhood soul of the individual, so too it has preserved the childhood soul of mankind in the form of numerous traces which have retained their vitality. In this way it provides a protection against one of the most serious psychic dangers, namely that of loss of the roots, which is a danger for civilized man as well as for primitive tribes. The breaking up of a tradition, however necessary it may be at times, always entails a loss and a danger ; and it is a danger to the soul because instinctive life, which is the most conservative element in man, expresses itself precisely in traditional usages. Ancestral traditions and customs are most deeply rooted in the instincts. If they are lost, the conscious mind becomes severed from the instincts ; if this happens, the conscious mind loses its roots and instinct, having lost its means of expressing itself, falls back into the unconscious. It then reinforces the energy of the unconscious, causing this in turn to overflow into the conscious contents existing at the time ; and it is then that the uprooted condition of the conscious mind becomes a real danger. This secret *vis a tergo* causes a *hybris* of the conscious mind which manifests itself in exaggerated self-esteem or as an inferiority complex. In any event the balance is disturbed, and this leaves the individual an easy prey to psychic injury.

If we look back over the thousand years or more of our European civilization, we see that the European ideal of the education and care of the soul has been, and for

the most part still is, a patriarchal order based upon the recognition of the parental imagos. Thus in dealing with the individual—no matter how revolutionary his conscious attitude may be—we have to reckon with the fact that his psyche has a patriarchal or hierarchical bias which causes it instinctively to cling to such an order, or to seek for it if it has not found it. Any attempt which we might make to reduce the power of the parental imagos and the childhood soul is therefore doomed to failure from the outset.

We may now return to our original question : what happens when the parental imagos are no longer projected ? It is undoubtedly possible to withdraw the parental imagos from certain personal carriers of the projection. This belongs to the stock in trade of our therapeutic success. The problem becomes more difficult, however, in cases where there is a transference of the imagos upon the doctor. The process of dissolving this transference can assume the dimensions of a decisive crisis. For what is to happen to the imagos when they are no longer attached to a human being ? The Pope as the supreme father of Christendom receives his office from God. He is the servant of servants, and the transference of the imagos to him is therefore a transference to the Father in Heaven and to Mother Church on earth. What happens, though, to men and women who have been torn out of their tradition and uprooted ? Professor Murray,¹ of Harvard University, has shown on the basis of extensive statistical material—thus confirming my own previously published experience—that the frequency of complexes is on the average highest among Jews ; Protestants come second, and Catholics only third. How directly a man's philosophy of life is connected with the well-being of the psyche can be seen from the fact that the nature of his conception of life, that is, his way of looking at things, is actually of supreme importance to him and to his mental health. This is so true that we might almost say, things are not nearly so much how they are, as how we see them. If, for instance, we have a

¹ Henry A. Murray, *Explorations in Personality*. Oxford University Press, New York, 1938.

disagreeable impression about a situation or thing, our pleasure in it is spoiled, and then it does in fact usually disagree with us. How much, on the contrary, becomes not only bearable, but often acceptable, if we can give up certain prejudices and change our point of view. Paracelsus, who was above all a physician of genius, stressed the fact that no one was a doctor who did not understand the art of "theorizing" (*Theoricieren*).¹ What he meant by this was that the doctor must not only himself attain, but must also convey to the patient a mental attitude and a way of looking at the illness which would enable the doctor to cure and the patient to be cured, or at least to endure the illness. That is why he says, "Every illness is a purgatorial fire."² He consciously recognized and made extensive use of the healing power of the mental attitude. Accordingly, if I am treating practising Catholics, my duty as a doctor allows me, when faced with the transference problem, to step aside and guide the problem over to the Church. If, however, I am treating a non-Catholic, this way out is barred to me, and my duty as a doctor does not allow me to step aside, for there is as a rule no one and nothing to which I could appropriately lead over the father imago. I can of course get the patient to recognize with his reason that I am not the father. But in that case I become the reasonable father—and in spite of everything still the father. Not only Nature, but the patient too abhors a vacuum. He has an instinctive revulsion from letting the parental imagos and his childhood soul fall into the nothingness of a hopeless past without a future. His instinct tells him that if he is to be a complete person, these things must remain alive in some form or other. He knows that a complete withdrawal of the projection will be followed by what seems to be an endless isolation within the ego, which is all the more obtrusive because he has so little love for it. He found that state unbearable before, and it is not very likely that he will be able to endure it now simply out of pure reasonableness. Thus at this stage the Catholic who has been freed from an

¹ *Labyrinthus Medicorum*, chap. viii, *Theorica Medica*.

² *De Ente Dei*. Tr. v, chap. i.

excessively personal tie to the parents can easily return to the mysteries of the Church, which he is now in a position to understand better and more deeply. There are some Protestants too who are able to find in one of the newer variants of Protestantism a meaning which appeals to them, and thus attain once more to a genuine religious attitude. All other cases—unless there is a violent solution which is often injurious—will, as the saying goes, remain “stuck” in the transference situation, and so subject both themselves and the doctor to a severe trial of patience. This can hardly be avoided, for a sudden fall into an orphaned, parentless state can in certain cases—namely where there is a predisposition to psychosis—have dangerous consequences owing to the sudden activation of the unconscious which always accompanies it. Accordingly the projection can and should be withdrawn only step by step. The integration of the contents contained in the split-off parental imagos exercises an activating effect on the unconscious, for these imagos are charged with the energy which they originally possessed in childhood and owing to which they continued to exercise a fateful influence even at an adult age. Their integration therefore means a considerable access of energy to the unconscious, which soon makes itself felt by the fact that the conscious is strongly determined by unconscious contents. Isolation in the condition of being nothing but an ego has the consequence, paradoxically enough, that there now appear in dreams and phantasies impersonal, collective contents which are the same material from which certain schizophrenic psychoses are constructed. The situation is, therefore, not without danger; for the severance of the ego from its connection with the projections—among which in the final stages the transference to the doctor plays the principal part—creates the danger that the ego, which was formerly dissolved in relationships to the personal environment, may now be dissolved in the contents of the collective unconscious. This is because the parents and their imagos, even though the former may be dead in the outer world, have now passed over to that “other world” of the collective unconscious, where they

continue to exercise the same disintegrating tendency to the formations of projections as before.

At this point, however, there comes into play a healing compensatory effect which each time seems to me like a miracle. In face of the dangerous tendency to disintegration there arises out of the same collective unconscious a counter-action, characterized by symbols which point unmistakably to a process of centralization. This process creates nothing less than a new centre of the personality which its symbolism from the first shows to be super-ordinated to the ego, and which later proves its superiority empirically. It can therefore not be subsumed under the ego, but must be given a higher value. It can no longer be called the ego, and I have accordingly given it the name of the " Self ". The experience and realization of the Self is the ultimate aim of Indian Yoga ; and in considering the psychology of the Self it is well to have recourse to the treasures of Indian wisdom. In India, as with us, the experience of the Self has nothing to do with intellectualism ; it is a vital happening which brings about a fundamental transformation of the personality. I have named the process which leads to this experience the " process of individuation ". If I recommend the study of classical Yoga, it is not because I am one of those who turn up their eyes in ecstasy when they hear such magic words as " dhyana " and " budhi " or " mukti ", but because psychologically we can learn a great deal from the Yoga philosophy which is of practical use. Furthermore, the material is available in clear formulation in the Eastern books and the translations which have been made of them. Again, my reason is not that we have nothing equivalent in the West ; I merely recommend Yoga because the Western wisdom which is analogous to Yoga is more or less inaccessible except to specialists. It is hidden, and distorted beyond recognition by the fact that it is formulated as an esoteric system and by all the nonsense which this draws along in its wake. In alchemy there lies concealed a Western meditation Yoga, but it was kept a carefully guarded secret out of fear of heresy and its terrible consequences. To the practising psychologist, however, alchemy has one in-

estimable advantage over Indian Yoga—its ideas are almost entirely expressed in an extraordinarily rich symbolism, and, moreover, in just that symbolism which we still find in our patients today. In my opinion the help which alchemy can give towards the understanding of the symbolism of the individuation process is of the greatest importance.¹

Alchemy describes what I call the Self as *incorrumpibile*, that is, a substance which cannot be dissolved, a One and Indivisible which cannot be reduced to anything else, and at the same time a Universal. A sixteenth century alchemist indeed gave it the name of *Filius Macrocosmi*.² Modern findings are in principle in agreement with these formulations.

I was obliged to mention all these things in order to come to the problem of today. If we perseveringly and consistently follow the way of natural development, we arrive at the experience of the Self and the state of being simply what one is. This aim is expressed in the form of an ethical demand by the motto of Paracelsus, the 400th anniversary of whose death we commemorated in the autumn of 1941: *Alterius non sit, qui suus esse potest*—a motto which is both characteristically Swiss and characteristically alchemical. But the path to this goal is hard, and not for all to travel. *Est longissima via* say the alchemists. We are still only at the beginning of a development whose origins lie in late antiquity, and which throughout the Middle Ages led little more than a hole-and-corner existence, vegetating in obscurity and represented by solitary eccentrics who were called, not without reason, *Tenebriones*. Yet for all that, such men as Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, and Paracelsus were among the fathers of modern science, and their spirit contributed in no small way to the shaking of the authority of the “total” Church. Our modern psychology is one of the developments which grew out of the spirit of natural science,

¹ Cf. *Psychologie und Alchemie*, Zürich (Rascher and Co.), 1944. English trans. in the press, London (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co.), and *Psychology and Religion*, Terry Lectures, Yale University Press, 1938.

² Henricus Khunrath, *Von hylealischen Chaos*, 1597.

and without realizing it, is carrying on the work which the alchemists began. These men were convinced that the *donum artis* was given only to a few *electis*, and to-day our experience shows us only too plainly how painstaking and difficult the work with each individual patient is, and how few can attain to the discoveries and experiences of psychological work. In the meantime the disintegration and weakening of the health-giving institution of the Christian Church continues at an alarming pace, and the loss of any secure authority is gradually leading to a religious-philosophical as well as to a socio-political anarchy which is repugnant to European man, accustomed as he is to a patriarchal order. The attempts which are being made to achieve individual consciousness and to mature the personality are, regarded from the social point of view, still too weak to carry any weight at all in face of historical necessity. If the social order in Europe is not to be shaken to its foundations, then authority must at all costs be immediately re-established.

This is probably what lies behind the tendency which has arisen in Europe to set up the collectivity of the State as a substitute for the collectivity of the Church. Just as the Church was once absolute in its endeavour to make theocracy a reality, so the State now makes an absolute claim to exclusive totality. The ruling principle of spirit has not been replaced by a ruling principle derived from nature or from the *lumen naturae*, as Paracelsus called it, but by the total incorporation of the individual into a political collectivity called "the State". This offers a way out of the dilemma, for the parental *imagos* can now be projected on to the State as the universal provider and the authority determining all thinking and willing. The ends of science are made to serve the collective social system, and it is valued solely for its practical usefulness to that system. The natural development of the soul is no longer replaced by a spiritual order of direction which bridges the centuries and keeps cultural values alive, but by a political directing order which serves the power aim of particular groups and promises the masses economic benefits. In this way the deeply rooted urge of the European towards a patriarchal

and hierarchical order finds an apt concrete expression which corresponds only too well to the instincts of the masses, but which is fixed at such a level as to be in every respect detrimental to culture.

We here reach a point at which a division of opinions is probably inevitable. On the one hand, psychotherapy claims to have a scientific basis and therefore takes its stand on the principle of free investigation. Accordingly its declared aim is to educate people towards independence and moral freedom, in accordance with the discoveries arrived at by unprejudiced scientific research. Whatever may be the conditions to which the individual desires to adapt himself, he should always do so consciously and by his own free choice. On the other hand, in so far as political aims, in other words the State, are given pre-eminent value, psychotherapy would inevitably be made into the instrument of a particular political system. People would then have to be educated so as to conform with the aims of that system, even though they were thereby diverted from their own individual and highest destiny. It will undoubtedly be objected, in opposition to this conclusion, that the ultimate destiny of man does not lie in his individual existence but in the endeavour of human society, for without this the individual could not exist at all. This objection is a weighty one and cannot be dismissed lightly. It is an undoubted truth that the individual can only exist by virtue of society and that he always has so existed. That is why we find among primitive tribes the custom of initiation into manhood in which the individual is released from the tie to his family, and indeed from his whole previous identity, by a ritual death, and is reborn as a member of his tribe. Again, there were earlier civilizations such as those of Egypt and Babylon in which all individuality was concentrated in the person of the king, while the ordinary individual was anonymous. Or again, we can see whole families in which for generations the individuality of the name has compensated for the nonentity of its bearers ; or a long succession of Japanese artists who discard their own names and adopt that of their master, to which they simply add a number. Yet it was the great

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and enduring achievement of Christianity that in contrast to these archaic systems, which are all based on the original projection of psychic contents, it gave to each individual man the dignity of an immortal soul, whereas in earlier times this prerogative was confined exclusively to the king. It would lead too far afield to discuss here the extent to which this Christian innovation represents an advance of human consciousness and of culture in general owing to the fact that it put an end to the projection of the highest values of the individual soul on to the person of the king or some other specially privileged person. At this stage the urge inherent in the nature of the human being towards consciousness, moral freedom, and culture proved stronger than the stifling compulsion of those projections which keep the individual permanently a prisoner in the darkness of unconsciousness and force him down into nonentity. This step forward, however, laid upon mankind a cross—the torment of consciousness, of moral conflict, and of the ambiguity of his own thinking. The task which this development imposes is so immeasurably difficult that it can only be accomplished, if ever at all, by a gradual process spreading over centuries, and it must be paid for by endless suffering and toil in the struggle with all those forces which are incessantly at work persuading us to take the apparently easier way of unconsciousness. Those who follow the way of unconsciousness believe that the task can safely be left to "others", or in the last resort to the anonymous State. But who are these "others", these supermen—for such they must obviously be—who claim to be able to do what the average person is only too ready to believe that he himself cannot do? They are men whose nature, thinking, and feeling is just like our own, except that they are masters in the art of leaving things to others. Who, after all, is the State? It is the agglomeration of all the nonentities of which it is made up. If it could be personified, the result would be an individual, or rather a monster, which would be intellectually and ethically on a far lower level than most of the individuals of which it was composed, for it represents mass psychology raised to the highest power.

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That is why Christianity in its best days never subscribed to the belief in the State, but placed before man a supramundane goal which would free him from the compulsive power of all his projections on this world which is dominated by the spirit of darkness. It gave him an immortal soul so that he might have a fulcrum from which he could move the world, by showing him that his goal is not the mastery of this world, but the attainment of the Kingdom of God, which has its foundations in his own soul.

If man cannot exist without society, neither can he exist without oxygen, water, albumen, fat, and so on. Like these, society is one of the necessary conditions for his existence. It would be ludicrous to maintain that man exists in order to breathe air. It is equally ludicrous to say that man exists for the sake of society. "Society" is nothing more than the concept of the symbiosis of a group of human beings. A concept is not a carrier of life. The sole and natural carrier of life is the individual, and this holds true throughout nature.¹ "Society" or "the State" is an aggregation of carriers of life, and as an organization of them it is one of the most important conditions of life. It is therefore not quite true to say that the individual can only exist as a particle in a society. At any rate, man can exist a very great deal longer without the State than without air.

If the political goal is allowed to become predominant, there can be no doubt that a secondary matter is being given first place. The individual has been cheated out of his rightful destiny, and two thousand years of Christian culture have been wiped out. Instead of consciousness being widened by the withdrawal of projections, it is

¹ Pestalozzi says: "None of the institutions, measures, or means of education established for the masses and the needs of men in the aggregate, whatever shape or form they may take, serve to advance human culture. In the vast majority of cases they are completely worthless for that purpose or directly opposed to it. Our race develops its human qualities in essence only from face to face, from heart to heart. It can do this only in small circles which gradually grow larger in the warmth of feeling and love, and in trust and confidence. All the means requisite for the education of man, to make him humane, to make him truly a man, are the concern of the individual, and of such institutions as are closely and intimately attached to his heart and mind. They never have been, nor ever will be, the concern of the masses. They never have been, nor ever will be, the concern of civilization." (*Ideen*, Rascher and Co., Zürich, 1927, p. 187.)

narrowed because society, which in itself is simply a condition of human existence, is set up as a goal. Society is the greatest temptation to unconsciousness, for the mass inevitably swallows up the individual who has no security within himself, and reduces him in any case to the condition of a helpless particle. A State which makes a claim to totality could not tolerate for one moment the right of psychotherapy to help a man to the fulfilment of his natural destiny. On the contrary, it would be bound to insist that psychotherapy should be nothing but an accessory instrument for the production of a tool which is useful to the State. Psychotherapy would then become a mere technique tied to a single aim, that of increasing social efficiency. The soul would forfeit all life of its own and would become a function to be used as the State saw fit. The science of psychology would be degraded into the study of the means of systematically exploiting the psychic apparatus. As to its therapeutic aim, the successful total incorporation of the patient into the State machine would be the criterion of cure. But since this object can best be achieved by making the individual completely soulless, that is making him as far as possible unconscious, all methods of bringing about an increase of consciousness would at one stroke become obsolete, and the best thing would be to bring out of the lumber-rooms of the past all those methods which have ever been used to prevent man from becoming conscious of his unconscious contents. The art of psychotherapy would thus be forced into a complete regression.¹

Such is, in broad lines, the alternative which faces psychotherapy at the present time. The course of future events will decide whether or not Europe, which believed

¹ "From an existence in collectivity our race can only reap civilization, not culture.

"Is it not true, do we not see every day, that the divine breath of tenderness in the human feeling and the receptivity to truth which lies deep in the spirit, are the more easily extinguished in the individuals who compose the masses and their officials, when the herd-like aggregations of men become more extensive and more important, and when officialdom, which represents the legal concentration of the power of the masses, has freer play and greater power?

"The man who lives in collectivity, who is nothing but a collective man, sinks down into the depth of the evils of civilization, and buried in these evils, ceases to seek more than the wild animals in the forest seek" (Pestalozzi, loc. cit., pp. 189 ff.).

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that it had escaped from the Middle Ages, is for a second time to be plunged for centuries into the darkness of an Inquisition. This will only happen if the totalitarian claim of the State is forcibly carried through and maintains itself permanently. No person of insight will deny that the organization of our society, which is called the State, not only feels a strong urge to extend its authority, but is compelled by circumstances to do so. If this takes place by free consent and because the citizens of the State consciously realize what they are doing, then the results will be nothing but good. If on the other hand it takes place because people find it more comfortable to evade difficult decisions or because of lack of consciousness, then the individual is exposed to the certain danger of ceasing to exist as a responsible human being. If that happens, the State will be in no way different from a prison or a termites' nest.

Although the achievement of individual consciousness corresponds to man's natural destiny, it is not his whole aim. It certainly cannot be our object, in educating human beings, to create an anarchical conglomeration of single existences. That would be too much like the unacknowledged ideal of an extreme individualism which in itself is nothing more than a morbid reaction against an equally inadequate collectivism. In contrast to this, the natural process of individuation produces in man a consciousness of his relation to the community, just because it brings into consciousness the unconscious which is the common factor uniting all mankind. Individuation means to become one with oneself, and at the same time with mankind, since after all one is a human being. When this basis for the development of the individual is secured, there is a guarantee that the organized heaping up of individuals in the State—even a State which wields a strong central authority—will not result in the formation of an anonymous mass, but of a conscious community. The indispensable condition for this is, however, that man should be able to make his individual decisions with full freedom and consciousness. Without the freedom and independence of the individual there can be no true community; and, it must be

admitted, without such a community even an individual who is independent and has found inner security cannot in the long run thrive.¹ Moreover, the common weal is best served by men and women who are independent personalities. Whether the man of to-day yet has the maturity which is needed for such a decision is another question. On the other hand, solutions which violently forestall natural development are of equally questionable value. It is not possible in the long run to do violence to the facts of nature. They are like water in their power to infiltrate and undermine any system which fails to take account of them, and sooner or later to bring about its downfall. But an authority whose statesmanship is wise enough to leave sufficient free play to nature—of which spirit is a part—need not fear a premature decline. It is perhaps a humiliating sign of the spiritual immaturity of European man that he both needs and desires rather a large measure of authority. We are nevertheless faced with the fact that countless millions in Europe—with the unworthy complicity of so-called reformers whose childishness is equalled by their lack of tradition—have escaped from the *patris potestas* of kings and emperors only to fall helpless and senseless victims to any sort of power which cares to assume authority. The immaturity of man is a fact with which we have to reckon.

We in Switzerland are not living on some planetoid revolving in empty space, but on the same earth as the rest. We are right in the middle of these problems, and if we are unconscious, we are just as likely to fall victims to them as other nations. The most dangerous thing would be if we were to imagine that we were on a higher level of consciousness than our neighbours. There is no question of any such thing. While it would be a mistake for a handful of psychologists and psychotherapists like ourselves to take our importance too seriously—or I might say solemnly—I should nevertheless like to

¹ More than a hundred years ago, in circumstances which were not unlike those of the present day, Pestalozzi said : "The human race cannot maintain its social unity without some force which creates order. Law and art are forces of culture which unite men as individuals in independence and freedom. The forces at work in a mere civilization join men together in masses by the power of force alone, without taking into account freedom, law, and art" (loc. cit., p. 186).

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emphasize that just because we are psychologists it is our first task and duty to understand the psychic situation of our time and to see clearly the problems and challenges with which it faces us. Even if our voice is too weak to make itself heard above the tumult of political strife and dies away ineffectively, we may comfort ourselves with the saying of the Chinese master : " When the enlightened man is alone and thinks rightly, it can be heard a thousand miles away."

All beginnings are small. We should therefore not mind doing laborious but conscientious work with obscure individuals, even though the goal towards which we are striving seems to lie at an unattainable distance. One goal is within our reach, and that is to develop and bring to maturity individual personalities. If we are convinced that the individual is the carrier of life, we have served the purpose of life when as a result of our efforts one tree at least bears fruit, even though a thousand others remain barren. But anyone who sets out to bring *everything* that wants to grow to the highest pitch of growth would soon find that the weeds, which always flourish best, had shot up above his head. I therefore consider it the highest task of psychotherapy to-day to pursue with singleness of purpose the goal of the development of the individual. If we do this, our work will follow the line of nature's effort to develop in every individual the greatest possible fullness of life ; for it is only in the individual that life can fulfil its meaning—not in the bird that sits in a golden cage.

III

PSYCHOTHERAPY AND A PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE¹

An introductory address for the discussion at the meeting of the Swiss Society of Psychology, Zürich, 26th September, 1942²

PSYCHOTHERAPY evolved from practical and improvised methods; for this reason it was a long time before it was able to devote attention to thinking out its own intellectual basis. Empirical psychology at first adhered closely to physical and then to physiological concepts, and only ventured with much hesitation on the complicated phenomena which constitute its proper field. Similarly, psychotherapy was at first simply an accessory method; it only gradually freed itself from the conceptions of medical therapy and came to understand that it was concerned not only with physiological but primarily with psychological postulates. In other words, it found itself obliged to raise psychological issues which soon burst the framework of the experimental psychology of that day with its elementary statements. The demands of therapy brought highly complex factors within the range of this still new science, and the doctors practising it often lacked the equipment needed to deal with all the problems which arose. It is, therefore, not surprising if a bewildering multiplicity of ideas, theories, and standpoints at first appeared in the discussions about the new psychology which had been,

¹ Weltanschauung is translated *philosophy of life* throughout.

² First published in the *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Psychologie und ihre Anwendung*, Band I, 157, 1943.

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so to speak, forced into existence by therapeutic experience. An outsider could hardly be blamed if he received the impression of a Tower of Babel. This confusion was inevitable, for it was bound to become clear in course of time that the psyche cannot be treated without taking into account man as a whole, including the ultimate and deepest aspects, any more than the sick body can be treated without taking into account the totality of its functions—or rather, as a few representatives of modern medicine have maintained—the totality of the sick man himself.

The more “psychic” a condition is, the greater is its complexity, and the more closely is it related to the whole of man’s being. It is true that elementary psychic phenomena are very closely allied to physiological processes in the body, and there is not the slightest doubt that the physiological factor forms at least one pole of the psychic cosmos. The instinctive and affective processes, with all the neurotic symptomatology which arises when these processes are disturbed, clearly rest upon a physiological basis; but on the other hand, the disturbing factor proves its power to transform the physiological order into disorder. If the disturbance is caused by a repression, the disturbing factor, i.e. the repressing force, belongs to a “higher” psychic order. It is not something elementary and conditioned physiologically, but rather, as experience shows, generally some highly complex determinant, such as rational, ethical, æsthetic, religious, or other traditional factors which cannot be scientifically proved to have any physiological basis. This sphere of highly complex dominants forms the other pole of the psyche. Experience shows that it contains an energy which in certain cases is many times greater than that of the physiologically conditioned psyche.

The very earliest advances of the new psychotherapy into the strictly psychological field opened up the problem of the opposites, a problem which is profoundly characteristic of the psyche. The structure of the psyche is in fact so radically contradictory or contrapuntal that one can scarcely make any psychological statement without immediately having to state the opposite.

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The problem of the opposites offers a suitable and ideal battle-ground for the most contradictory theories, and especially for partially or wholly unrealized prejudices regarding one's philosophy of life. With this development, psychotherapy stirred up a hornets' nest of the first magnitude. Let us take as an example the supposedly simple instance of the repression of an instinctual drive. If the repression is dissolved, the drive is set free. If it is free, it wants to live and function in its own way. But this gives rise to a difficult—sometimes intolerably difficult—situation. The drive ought, therefore, to be modified, or "sublimated" as it is called. How that is to be done without a fresh repression, no one can quite explain. The little word "ought" in itself proves the helplessness of the therapist, and is a confession that he has come to the end of his resources. A conclusive appeal to reason would be all very fine if man were by nature an *animal rationale*; but he is not; he is quite as much unreasonable as he is reasonable. Therefore reason is often not sufficient to modify the instinctual drive and make it conform to a rational order. No one can conceive how many moral, ethical, philosophical, and religious conflicts come up at this stage of the problem; the facts surpass all imagination. Every conscientious and truth-loving psychotherapist would have plenty to say on this subject—although naturally not in public. All the contemporary problems, all the philosophical and religious questionings of our day, are stirred up; and unless either the psychotherapist or the patient throws in his hand in time, both of them are touched to the quick. Each of them will be compelled to undertake a full discussion of his philosophy of life, both alone and together. There are, it is true, arbitrary answers and solutions, but in principle and in the long run they are neither desirable nor satisfying. No Gordian knot can be permanently cut, for it has the awkward property of always tying itself again.

The task of coming to terms with his philosophy of life is one which psychotherapy inevitably sets itself, even though not every patient probes to the deepest levels. The question of the measuring rod with

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which to measure, and that of the ethical criteria which are to determine our actions, must be answered somehow, for it may happen that the patient expects us to account for our judgments and decisions. Not all patients will allow themselves to be condemned to a position of infantile inferiority because we refuse to render such an account ; quite apart from the fact that such an error in therapeutical technique would cut the ground from under our own feet. In other words, the art of psychotherapy requires that the therapist should be in possession of an ultimate conviction which can be stated, which is credible and defensible, and which has proved its validity by the fact that it has either resolved any neurotic dissociations of his own or has never let them develop. A therapist who has a neurosis does not deserve the name, for it is not possible to bring the patient to a more advanced stage than one has reached oneself. The possession of complexes, on the other hand, does not in itself signify a neurosis, for complexes are the normal focal points of psychic happenings, and the fact that they are painful does not show that there is a pathological disturbance. Suffering is not an illness, but the normal counter-pole to happiness. A complex only becomes pathological when we delude ourselves that we have not got it.

A philosophy of life as the most complex structure in the psyche is the counter-pole to the physiologically conditioned psyche, and as the highest psychic dominant it ultimately determines the latter's fate. It is the guiding force in the life of the therapist and forms the essence of his therapy. As it is primarily a subjective system, however strictly objective one may be, it may, and very likely will be destroyed time after time in collision with the truth of the patient ; but it revives, renewed by what has happened. Convictions easily turn into self-protective devices ; if this happens they tend to become rigid ; but that is contrary to the sense of life. The test of a firm conviction is its elasticity and flexibility ; like every other exalted truth, it thrives best by the admission of its errors.

I can hardly conceal the fact that we psychotherapists ought really to be philosophers or philosophic physicians

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—or rather that we already are so, though we are unwilling to admit it because of the glaring contrast between our conceptions and what is taught in the universities as philosophy. What we experience could also be called religion *in statu nascendi*, for when we are very close to the immense confusion of the primordial roots of life, there is as yet no possibility of differentiating between philosophy and religion. At the same time, the constant stress of the therapeutic situation, which involves so many impressions disturbing to the emotions, leaves us no leisure for systematic discrimination and abstraction. We can therefore offer neither the philosophical nor the theological faculty a clear exposition of principles derived from the experience of life.

Our patients suffer from the bondage of a neurosis. They are prisoners of the unconscious, and if we attempt to penetrate with understanding into the realm of the unconscious powers, we have to defend ourselves against the same influences to which our patients have succumbed. Like doctors who treat epidemic diseases, we expose ourselves to the powers which threaten consciousness, and we have to take every possible precaution in order to save not only our own humanness but that of the patient from the clutches of the unconscious. A wise self-limitation is not the same thing as a text-book of philosophy, and an ejaculatory prayer uttered in a moment of mortal danger is not the same thing as a theological treatise. Yet both are the outcome of a religio-philosophical attitude which corresponds to the dynamism of life in its most immediate form.

The highest dominant is always of a religio-philosophical nature. It is in itself a thoroughly primitive fact which can be observed in full development among primitive peoples. This dominant makes its appearance at every difficult, dangerous, or critical phase of life. It is the most natural reaction to all highly charged emotional situations. Often, however, it remains as obscure as the semi-conscious emotional situation which evoked it. It is therefore quite natural that the emotional disturbance of the patient should activate the corresponding religio-philosophical factors in the therapist. The

doctor often feels difficulty and reluctance in becoming conscious of primitive contents of this kind, and he quite comprehensibly prefers to turn for help to the philosophical and religious ideas which have reached his consciousness from external sources. This course is not in my opinion illegitimate in so far as it provides an opportunity for helping the patient to find a place in some protective institution which exists in the outside world. Such a solution is fully in accordance with nature, for there have always and everywhere been totem clans, cults, and religious creeds the purpose of which has always been to give an ordered form to the chaotic world of the instincts.

The situation becomes difficult, however, when a collective solution runs counter to the nature of the patient. The question then arises whether the therapist is prepared to run the risk of having his convictions destroyed by contact with the truth of the patient. If he wants to continue the treatment, he must go with his patient, for better or for worse, without any preconceived notions, in search of those religio-philosophical conceptions which correspond to the emotional state of the patient. These conceptions come up in an archetypal form, freshly sprung from that maternal soil from which all religio-philosophical systems ultimately arose. If, however, the therapist is not prepared to allow his own convictions to be called in question for the sake of his patient, then there is justified ground to doubt whether his fundamental attitude is really firmly established. He may perhaps be unable to give way because he needs to protect his own security, which lays him open to the danger of rigidity. The limits of psychic elasticity, however, differ very greatly, both individually and collectively, and often the degree of elasticity at a person's disposal is so small that he really cannot get beyond a certain degree of rigidity. *Ultra posse nemo obligatur.*

Instinct is not a thing apart, and it cannot be isolated in practice. It is always bound up with archetypal contents which have a spiritual aspect, by which it both justifies and limits itself. In other words, the instinctual drive is always and inevitably linked up with something

in the nature of a philosophy of life, however archaic, dim, and lacking in clarity this may be. Instinct forces man to think, and if he does not think of his own free will, there arises a compulsive thinking, for the two poles of the psyche, the physiological and the spiritual, are indissolubly bound up with one another. That is why the instincts cannot be freed without touching on the spirit, just as the spirit is condemned to meaningless activity if it is divorced from the instinctive sphere. It must not be thought, however, that the tie between the spirit and the sphere of the instincts is necessarily a harmonious one. On the contrary, it is full of conflict and means suffering. Therefore the highest aim of psychotherapy is not to transport the patient into an impossible state of happiness, but to help him to attain the firmness and philosophical patience which will enable him to endure suffering. Life demands for its consummation and fulfilment a balance between joy and suffering; but since suffering is in itself unpleasant, people naturally prefer not to think about how much care and sorrow belong to the natural lot of man. So they use comforting words such as progress and the greatest possible happiness, forgetting that happiness itself is poisoned when the measure of suffering has not been fulfilled. Behind a neurosis there is often concealed all the natural and necessary suffering which the patient has been unwilling to bear. This is seen most clearly in the case of hysterical pains, from which the patient is freed in the course of treatment by accepting the corresponding psychic suffering which he had sought to avoid.

The Christian doctrine of original sin on the one hand, and of the meaning and value of suffering on the other, has therefore a deep therapeutic value, and is undoubtedly much better suited to Western man than Islamic fatalism. In the same way the belief in immortality contributes to that smooth flow of life into the future which is needed if arrest and regression are to be avoided. Although these conceptions, which are of the greatest psychological importance, are generally called doctrines, it would be a great mistake to think that they are just arbitrary

intellectual theories. Looked at psychologically, they are far more in the nature of feeling experiences of indisputable reality. If I may be permitted a commonplace comparison—suppose I feel well and content with life, nobody can prove to me that I am not. Logical arguments simply glance off the experienced fact of feeling. Original sin, the meaning of life, and immortality are such facts of feeling. But to experience them is a charisma which no human art can bring to pass. Only unreserved self-surrender can hope to achieve such an aim.

Not everyone is capable of such self-surrender. There is no "ought" or "must" about it, for the very act of exerting the will inevitably places such an emphasis on "*I will*" that the opposite of self-surrender results. The Titans could not take Olympus by storm, still less a Christian, heaven. The most healing of all experiences, and those which are most necessary for the soul, are a "precious thing hard to obtain", and their achievement demands something out of the ordinary from the ordinary man.

As we know, this out-of-the-ordinary thing manifests itself in practical work with the patient as an invasion by archetypal contents. If these contents are to be assimilated, the current philosophical and religious conceptions of the day are not enough, for they simply do not fit the archaic symbolism of the material. We are therefore forced to go back to material derived from pre-Christian and non-Christian conceptions of the world, and our justification for doing so is that the fact of being human is not the prerogative of the Western type, nor is the white man a particular species of *homo sapiens* specially favoured by God. Moreover, there are certain contemporary collective phenomena to which we cannot do justice unless we go back to the pre-Christian postulates to which they correspond.

The doctors of the Middle Ages seem to have had some notion of this, for they practised a philosophy the roots of which can be traced back to pre-Christian times and which was of a nature to correspond closely with the experiences which we have with our patients to-day. These doctors recognized, besides the light of divine

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revelation, a *lumen naturae* which they regarded as a second, independent source of enlightenment. The doctor could turn to this if the truth as handed down by the Church should for any reason prove ineffective either for himself or for the patient.

It was for eminently practical reasons, and not merely in order to indulge a hobby, that I have undertaken historical researches. Neither our modern medical training nor academic psychology and philosophy give the doctor the necessary knowledge or means to deal effectively and understandingly with the often very urgent demands of psychotherapeutic practice. We must therefore not be deterred by the fear of being inadequate amateurs in history, but must see whether we cannot learn something from the medical philosophers of a remote past when body and soul had not yet been torn asunder and handed over to separate faculties. Although we are the specialists *par excellence*, our specialized field, strangely enough, forces us to universalism and requires us completely to overcome our specialist attitude. We have to do this if the totality of body and soul is not to be a mere matter of words. Once we have made up our minds to try to treat the soul, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that a neurosis is not something that can be separated from the rest of man, but the pathologically disturbed psyche itself. It was Freud's revolutionary discovery that a neurosis is not merely an agglomeration of symptoms, but a wrong functioning which affects the whole psyche. The important thing, we find, is not the neurosis, but who has the neurosis. It is on the human being that we have to act, and we must be able to do him justice as a human being.

The conference which we are holding to-day proves that psychotherapy has recognized its aim, which is to pay equal regard to the physiological and the spiritual factor. Originating in natural science, it transfers the objective, empirical methods of science to the study of the phenomenology of the spirit. Even if this should remain a mere attempt, the fact that the attempt has been made is of incalculable significance.

IV

AFTER THE CATASTROPHE¹

THIS is the first time since 1936 that the fate of Germany has again driven me to take up my pen. At the close of my article, which appeared at that time,² I mentioned a passage from the *Völuspá*, where Wotan “speaks with Mimir’s head”—alluding to the nature of the coming apocalyptic events. The myth has been fulfilled, and a great part of Europe lies in ruins.

Before the work of reconstruction can be thought of there is clearing up to be done, and this calls above all for *reflection*. Questions are being asked on all sides as to the meaning of the whole tragedy. People have also come to me for an explanation, and I have had to answer their inquiries then and there to the best of my ability. But misunderstandings are very apt to creep in when one relies exclusively on the spoken word, and therefore I have once again decided to set down my views in the form of an article—though not without considerable hesitation and misgiving. I am only too well aware that “Germany” presents an immensely far-reaching problem and that the subjective opinion of a doctor and psychologist can only touch a partial aspect of the gigantic web of questions involved. For my part, I must be content with a modest contribution to the work of clearing-up, without even attempting to look as far ahead as reconstruction. Indeed, there is plenty to clear up! When I was working on this paper, I discovered the extent to

¹ First published in the *Neue Schweizer Rundschau* (Neue Folge, XIII Jahrgang, Heft 2), June, 1945.

² “Wotan,” see pp. 1–16 above.

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which one's own psyche is still upset and the struggle it requires, in the midst of one's own affects, to reach anything approaching a balanced, or even relatively steady point of view. No doubt one should be cold-blooded and able to ponder the matter with superior detachment ; but we are much more deeply involved in the German events on the whole than we care to believe. At the same time, one cannot bring oneself to feel compassion, for the heart from which sympathy should flow harbours feelings of a very different nature, which would like to have the first say. Neither the doctor nor the psychologist can afford to be *only* cold-blooded—quite apart from the fact that they would find it impossible. In their connection with the world, the latter is by no means the only factor ; they themselves with all their affects are involved, or the connection would be halting and incomplete. This being the case, I found myself faced with the task of steering my ship between Scylla and Charybdis. And—as is the custom on such a venture—I had to close my ears to one side of my being and lash the other to the mast. I must confess that no article has ever given me so much trouble, from a moral and even from a human point of view. I had not realized to what extent it was a matter of *myself*. There are others, I feel sure, who will be able to share this feeling with me. This innermost identity, or *participation mystique*, with the German events caused me to experience afresh, with pain and sorrow, the wide range of the *psychological concept of collective guilt*. So when I approach this problem it is certainly not with any feelings of cold-blooded superiority, but rather with an avowed sense of inferiority.

The psychological use of the word "guilt" should on no account be confused with a legal or moral construction. The psychological concept of guilt depicts the irrational presence of a subjective feeling of guilt (or a conviction of guilt), or an objective imputation of guilt (or an imputed share in guilt). As an example of the latter, suppose a man belongs to a family which has suffered disgrace through the unfortunate fact that one of its members has committed a crime. It is clear that he can by no means be held responsible, either legally or morally. Yet the

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atmosphere of guilt makes itself felt in many ways : his own family name appears to have been sullied, and to hear it in the mouth of strangers gives him a painful shock. Guilt can only be narrowed down to the law-breaker when considered from the legal, moral, and intellectual point of view. But as a psychological phenomenon it involves the whole neighbourhood. A wood, a house, a family, even a village, which has been the scene of a murder, feels the psychological guilt, and is made to feel it by the outside world. Is one likely to take a room where one knows that a murder was lately committed ? Is it particularly pleasant to marry the sister or the daughter of a criminal ? What father is not deeply wounded if his son is put in prison ? And does he not feel injured in his family pride, to say the least of it, if a cousin bearing the same name happens to bring dishonour on the house ? Surely every decent Swiss would be humiliated—to put it mildly—had it occurred to our Government to erect a human slaughterhouse on the lines of Maidanek ? And on reaching the frontier, armed with Swiss passports, should we then have been surprised to hear such remarks as : “ Ces cochons de Suisses ! ” ? As it is, are we not just a little ashamed—and this because we are patriots—that Switzerland should have bred so many traitors ? It is true that within Europe, we Swiss feel ourselves to be comfortably outside the foul vapours rising from the magic circle of German guilt. But all this changes the moment we set foot, as Europeans, on another continent, or come into contact with an exotic people. What are we to say to an Indian who asks : “ You are anxious, are you not, to give us your Christian culture ? But may I ask if Auschwitz and Buchenwald are examples of European civilization ? ” Shall we help matters by hastening to assure him that such things did not take place where we live, but several hundred miles further East ; not in our own country at all, but in a neighbouring European land ? (In Europe everything is so close together compared to other continents !) How should we react, were an outraged Indian to point out that India’s black spot does not lie in Travancore, but in Hyderabad ? Undoubtedly we should say : “ Come now,

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India is India"; and, without doubt, the Indian's point of view is: "Come now, Europe is Europe!" The moment we so-called innocent Europeans cross the frontiers of our own continent, we shall be made to feel the collective guilt that weighs upon it, however clear our own conscience may be. The world sees Europe as the continent on whose soil the shameful concentration camps grew, just as Europe singles out Germany as the land and the people that are living under the cloud of guilt; for the horror happened in Germany and its perpetrators were Germans. No German can deny this, any more than a European or a Christian can deny that the most monstrous crime of all ages has been committed in his house. The Christian Church should put ashes on her head and rend her garment, for the guilt of her children. The shadow of guilt has also fallen upon her, just as much as upon Europe, mother of monsters. Europe must account for herself before the world, and in the same way Germany is answerable to Europe. The European can no more convince the Indian that Germany is no concern of his, or that he knows nothing at all about that country, which can hardly be counted as Europe, than the German can rid himself of his collective guilt in the eyes of Europe, by protesting that he did not know. Such a standpoint merely adds the sin of unconsciousness to his collective guilt.

Psychological collective guilt is a *tragic fate*. It hits everybody, just and unjust alike, everybody who was anywhere near the place where the terrible thing happened. Naturally no reasonable and conscientious person will lightly turn collective into individual guilt, by holding the individual responsible without hearing his point of view. He will know enough to distinguish between the individually guilty and the merely collectively guilty. But how many people are conscientious and reasonable, and how many take the trouble to be, or to develop these valuable qualities? I am not optimistic in this respect. It is true that collective guilt is a most ancient and primitive *magical uncleanness*, but precisely on account of the general state of unreasonableness, it is also a very actual fact—a fact which no European outside Europe,

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and no German outside Germany, can afford to ignore. If the latter intends to live on good terms with Europe, he must be conscious that in the eyes of Europe he is guilty. As a German, he has betrayed European culture and all its values ; he has brought shame and dishonour on his European family, so that one cannot help blushing when one hears oneself referred to as a European ; he has basely fallen upon his European brothers like a common thief, and has both tortured and murdered them. The German can hardly expect that the European will resort to such finesses as to stop at every step to inquire whether the criminal's name is Müller or Meier. Neither will Europe deem him worthy of being treated as a gentleman. And this will not change till the contrary has been proved. Unfortunately, the last twelve years have demonstrated clearly enough that the official German was no gentleman.

If a German is prepared to acknowledge his moral inferiority, as collective guilt, before the whole world, without attempting to diminish it or explain it away with insufficient arguments, then he will have a reasonable chance, after a certain time has elapsed, of being taken for a more or less decent man, and will thus be absolved of his collective guilt, at any rate in the eyes of individuals.

It is possible that the whole psychological concept of collective guilt will be regarded as a prejudice and a sweeping and unfair judgment. The reproach is justified, and yet it is precisely this prejudice that constitutes the irrational nature of collective guilt ; it cares nothing for just and unjust, it is the dark cloud that rises from the scene of unatoned guilt and casts its shadow upon it. It is simply a psychic phenomenon, and therefore, when one asserts the collective guilt of the German people, one is not passing sentence, but merely stating an existing fact. Collective prejudice, however, is not the only aspect of collective guilt and a further inquiry into the psychology of this process soon brings us to another and more questionable side.

In view of the fact that every man does not live in his psychic sphere as a snail in its shell—i.e. separated from others—but is in reality bound to his fellow men

by his own unconscious humanity, a crime can never happen as our consciousness sees it exclusively in and for itself—i.e. as a psychic factor which is, and can be, isolated. On the contrary, it happens in a wide radius. The sensation which every crime arouses, the passionate interest shown in tracking down the criminal, the eagerness with which the trial in court is followed, all go to prove that crime has a peculiarly exciting effect on practically everybody who is not abnormally dull and apathetic. People seem to move with it, to feel themselves into it, they try to grasp it and explain it. Something has been set alight in them, and this something is a part of the great fire of evil which has flared up in the crime. Was not Plato aware, all those centuries ago, that the sight of something ugly produces something ugly in the psyche ? Indignation leaps up, angry cries of " justice ! " pursue the murderer, and they are louder, more passionate, and more charged with hate, the more fiercely the spark of evil glows in one's soul. It is a fact which cannot be denied : the wickedness of others instantly becomes our own wickedness ; because it kindles evil in our own soul. The murder has been partly suffered by everyone, and everyone has also partly committed it. Drawn by the irresistible fascination of evil, we have helped to make this partial, collective psychic murder possible ; and the closer we stood to it and the better our view, the greater our share. In this way we are unavoidably drawn into the uncleanness of evil, no matter what line our consciousness may take. Our very moral indignation is a sign that evil has lit a fire in our heart, and the more fiercely this fire burns the more poisonous and revengeful we shall be. No one need hope to escape this fact, for every one of us is a human being and part of the human community ; so much so that no single crime can fail to call forth a secret satisfaction in some corner of our many-sided and iridescent psyche. It is true that, in the case of a person endowed with strong moral faculties, this reaction brings about a contrary one in the neighbouring compartments of the psyche. Unfortunately a strong feeling for morality is relatively rare, so that when crime is on the increase, indignation may easily allow

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itself to be overruled, and evil then becomes the order of the day. For everybody harbours his "statistical" criminal in himself, just as he has a corresponding madman or saint. Owing to this general human predisposition, a corresponding suggestibility, or susceptibility to infection, exists everywhere. It is our time—the last half-century—that is particularly responsible for having paved the way for crime. Has it never occurred to anybody, for instance, that the general vogue of the detective story has a rather questionable side?

Long before 1933, there was already a faint smell of burning in the air, and people were passionately interested in discovering the seat of the fire and the incendiary. And when denser clouds were seen to gather over Germany, and the burning of the Reichstag gave the signal, then at last there was no mistake as to where the incendiary, evil in person, dwelt. Terrifying as this discovery was, in the course of time it brought a certain sense of relief; now at least we knew for certain where all unrighteousness was to be found, whereas we ourselves were securely entrenched in the opposite camp, among the respectable people, whose moral indignation might well be expected to rise higher and higher with every fresh sign of guilt on the other side. Why even the call for mass executions no longer offended the ears of the righteous, and the burning of German towns was looked upon as the judgment of God. Hate had found respectable motives, and had emerged from the state of more secret and personal idiosyncracy. And all the time the highly respectable public had not the slightest inkling that they themselves were thus living in the immediate neighbourhood of evil.

One should not for a moment imagine that anybody could possibly have escaped this play of the opposites. Even a saint would have to pray unceasingly for the souls of Hitler and Himmler, the Gestapo and the S.S., in order to repair the harm done to his own soul without delay. The sight of evil kindles evil in the soul. There is no getting away from this. The victim is not the only sufferer, for the murderer and the whole human environment of the crime have been injured. A piece of the

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abysmal darkness of this world has broken in, poisoning the very air we breathe and imparting a stale, nauseating taste of blood to the clear water. It is true that we are innocent, we are even the victims, robbed, cheated, outraged ; and yet for all that—or precisely for this very reason—the flame of evil flares up in our moral indignation. It must be so ; for it is indispensable that someone should be indignant, that someone should act as the sword of judgment in the hand of fate : an evil deed calls for atonement ; otherwise, either the wicked will destroy the world completely, or the good will suffocate in their rage, for which there is no outlet ; and in either case no good will come of it.

When evil breaks into our order of things at any one spot, the whole of our psychic protecting circle has, so to speak, been broken into. Action unavoidably calls for reaction, and, in point of destruction, this turns out to be just as bad as the crime, and if possible even worse ; for evil must be completely worsted. In order to be able to sever our union with evil at all, we really require a regular *rite de sortie* : a sort of ceremony, let us say, in which the judge, the hangman and the people would solemnly declare their guilt, and their willingness to make amends.

The terrible things that have happened in Germany, and the moral downfall of a whole generation in a nation of 80 millions, amounts to a blow aimed at the European in general. (We used to be able to relegate such things to "Asia" !) The fact that a member of the family of European culture could sink to the level of the concentration camp throws a dubious light on all the other members. For who are we to imagine that such a thing could not possibly happen in our country ? We have only to multiply the Swiss population by 20 to become a "nation of 80 millions", and our public intelligence and morals would then be automatically divided by 20. For when people are thrown together in huge masses and considered only as a herd, it has the most devastating moral and psychic effect upon the individual. The foundation for collective crime is laid by just such a state of things ; and then it is really a miracle if the

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crime is not actually committed. Do we seriously believe that *we* should have been proof against it? We, who have so many traitors and political psychopaths in our midst? It has filled us with horror to realize all that man is capable of, and of which we are consequently also capable; and since then a terrible doubt regarding humanity—in which we also are included—nags at us.

Nevertheless—and there should be no mistake about this—such a state of degradation can only be brought about by certain conditions. First and foremost among these is the accumulation of urban, industrialized masses; i.e. of people whose abilities are only partially mobilized, owing to the unnatural, one-sided character of employment in factories, shops, and so on. They have been uprooted from their natural soil and have lost every kind of healthy instinct, even that of *self-preservation*. For dependence on the State can be measured in terms of loss of the instinct of self-preservation, which is a deplorable symptom. Dependence on the State means that one relies on everybody else (= State) instead of on oneself. Every person hangs on to the next, with a false feeling of security; for one is still swinging in the air even when hanging in the company of 10,000 other people—the only difference being that one is no longer aware of one's own insecurity. The increasing dependence on the State is anything but a healthy symptom, for it means that the people are in a fair way to become a herd of sheep, always relying on a shepherd to drive them on to good pastures. The shepherd's staff soon becomes a rod of iron, and the shepherds turn into wolves. What a distressing sight it was to see the whole of Germany heave a sigh of relief when a megalomaniac psychopath grandly announced: "I take the responsibility." Any man who still possesses the instinct of self-preservation knows quite well that only a cheat would offer to relieve him of his own responsibility; for surely nobody in his senses would dream of taking the responsibility for the life of another. The man who promises everything is sure to fulfil nothing, and everyone who promises too much is in danger, for he is tempted to use bad means in order to carry out his promises; and then he

is already on the road to catastrophe. The steady growth of State welfare is no doubt a very fine thing from one point of view, but from another it is a very doubtful blessing ; for it robs people of their individual responsibility and turns them into infants and sheep. There is also the danger that the capable are simply made use of by the irresponsible ; and this was the case to an extraordinary extent in Germany. The citizen's instinct of self-preservation should be preserved at all costs, for when man has once become severed from the nourishing root of his instincts, he is simply the shuttlecock of every wind that blows. He is then no better than a sick animal, demoralized and degenerated, and nothing short of a catastrophe can bring him back to health.

I own that in saying all this, I feel rather like the prophet who, according to Flavius Josephus, lifted up his voice in lamentation over the city, when the Romans laid siege to Jerusalem. It proved not the slightest use to the city, and a stone missile from a Roman ballista made an end of the prophet.

With the best will in the world, we cannot bring about paradise on earth, and even if we could, in a very short time we should have degenerated in every way. We should take a delight in destroying our paradise, and then, just as foolishly, we should marvel at what we had done. Moreover, if we happened to be a " nation of 80 millions " we should be convinced that " others " are to blame, and our self-esteem would be at such a low ebb that we should not even deem ourselves capable of shouldering responsibility or of taking the blame for anything.

This is a diseased, demoralized and mentally abnormal condition : one side of us does things which the other (so-called decent) side prefers to ignore. The latter is in a perpetual state of defence against real, and also imaginary accusations. But in reality the chief accuser is not an outer voice, it is the judge in our own heart. As this is an attempt of nature to bring about a cure, it would be wiser not to persist overlong in confronting the German people with their own horrors, lest we drown the voice of the accuser that dwells in the heart (and in the allies' own heart also).

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If only people could realize what an enrichment it means to find one's own guilt, what a sense of honour and new spiritual dignity ! But, as yet, alas ! there does not appear to be the faintest glimmer of this insight. Instead, we only hear of attempts to shift the blame on to others ; " nobody will own to having been a Nazi." The German was never indifferent to the opinion of the outer world ; he liked to make a good impression and was very touchy when criticized. Feelings of inferiority make people sensitive, and lead to compensatory attempts to impress. In this mood the German thrusts himself forward and insists on making friends in a crude and familiar way ; or " German proficiency " is demonstrated with such violence that it leads to a reign of terror and the shooting of hostages. The German no longer thinks of such actions as murder, for he is lost in considerations of his own prestige. Feelings of inferiority usually mean inferior feeling—which is no play on the word. All the intellectual or technical achievement in the world cannot make up for inferiority in the matter of feeling. Did pseudo-scientific theories concerning the purity of the race and such-like embellishments manage to gild the pill of the Jewish massacres and make them acceptable ? And neither does the practice of falsifying history make a wrong policy any better.

This spectacle recalls the figure of the " pale criminal ", which Nietzsche so aptly described, and which in reality bears all the signs of hysteria. He simply will not and cannot admit that he is what he is, he cannot endure his own guilt, and yet he could not help incurring it. He will even stoop to every kind of self-delusion, if only he can escape the sight of himself. It is true that this happens everywhere, but nowhere does it appear to be such a national characteristic as in Germany. I am by no means the first to have been struck by German feelings of inferiority. (What did Goethe, Heine, and Nietzsche have to say about their country ?) For a feeling of inferiority does not in the least mean that it is unjustified. It merely does not apply to the side, or to the function, in which it comes to light ; but it is none the less connected with an inferiority which really exists, although one only

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has a vague suspicion of it. This state of things can easily lead to a *hysterical dissociation* of the personality, which consists mainly in one hand not knowing what the other is doing, in wanting to jump over one's own shadow and in looking for all that is dark and charged with guilt, all that is inferior, in others. As a result, people in this condition always complain of being surrounded by a crowd incapable of appreciating them and activated only by bad motives ; and by inferior parasites, second-rate people, so-called *Untermenschen*, who should be exterminated neck and crop, to enable the *Uebermenschen* to live up to their high level of perfection. When both thinking and feeling work along these lines, it is a sure sign that inferiority is already at work. Therefore all hysterical people are compelled to be tormentors, because they are unwilling to hurt themselves with their own inferiority. But, as nobody can jump out of his own skin and be rid of himself, they stand in their own way everywhere as their own evil spirit ; and that is what is called an hysterical neurosis.

These characteristic, psychological symptoms—complete blindness as regards one's own character, auto-erotic self-admiration and self-extenuation, the under-valuation and terrorization of one's fellow creatures (how contemptuously Hitler speaks of his people !), projection of one's own shadow, lies and distortions of the truth, the determination to impress by fair means or foul, bluff and cheating—all unite in the man who was diagnosed medically as a hysterical subject, and whom a strange fate chose to be the political, moral, and religious exponent of Germany for twelve years. Is this pure chance ?

A more precise diagnosis of Hitler's condition would be *pseudologia phantastica*, i.e. the form of hysteria which is characterized by a peculiar talent for believing one's own lies. For a short spell, such people are apt to be astoundingly successful, which makes them a social danger. For nothing has such a convincing effect as a lie one invents and believes oneself, or an evil deed or evil intention, of whose righteousness one is persuaded. In any case, they carry more conviction than the really good man or good deed, or even than the wicked man

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and his really wicked deed. Hitler's theatrical, that is clearly hysterical gestures struck all foreigners (with a few astounding exceptions) as purely ridiculous. When I saw him with my own eyes, he suggested a psychic scarecrow (with a broomstick for his outstretched arm) rather than a human being. It was difficult also to understand how his ranting speeches, delivered in shrill, grating, womanish tones, could make such an impression. But the German people would never have been taken in and carried away so completely if this figure had not been a reflected image of the general German hysteria. It is naturally a very serious matter to venture to pin, as it were, the label of the "psychopath's inferiority" on to a whole nation ; and yet, heaven knows, it was the only explanation which could in any way account for the effect this scarecrow had on the masses. A sad lack of education, the accompanying conceit which actually went the length of madness ; a very mediocre intelligence, allied to the hysterical person's sly cunning, and adolescent "power fantasies" were written all over this demagogue's face. His gestures were all palpably artificial, devised by a hysterical mind, intent only on making an impression. In public, he behaved as a man who is already living in his own biography, in this instance as a sombre, iron, "daemonic" hero of popular novel fame, and as the ideal in the minds of a childish people who owe their knowledge of the world to the deified heroes in trashy films. These personal observations led me to conclude at that time (1937) that, when the final catastrophe came, it would be far greater and more bloody than I had hitherto anticipated. For this equally transparent and hysterical theatrical impostor was not strutting on a small stage, but was riding the armoured divisions of the Wehrmacht, backed by the German heavy industry. Encountering only very slight, and in any case ineffective, internal opposition, a nation of 80 millions crowded into the circus to witness its own dismemberment.

Among Hitler's closest fellow-workers, Goebbels and Göring stand out as equally striking figures. The latter is the good fellow and *bon vivant* type of cheat, who takes

in the simple-minded with his jovial air of respectability ; the former, a no less suspicious and dangerous character, is the typical *Kaffeehausliterat*¹ and card sharper, handicapped, and at the same time branded, by nature. Any one partner in this impressive triad would have been enough to make a man, still unwarped and at one with his instincts, cross himself three times ! But what happened in reality ? Hitler was raised to the skies ; there were even theologians who looked upon him as the Saviour. Göring was popular on account of his weaknesses ; few people would believe in his crimes. Goebbels was tolerated because many people think that lying is inseparable from success, and that success justifies everything. These three together were really "the limit", and one is at a loss to imagine how anything quite so monstrous ever came to power. But we must not forget that we are judging from to-day, with our knowledge of the events which led to the catastrophe. Our judgment would certainly be very different had our information stopped short at 1933 or 1934. At that time, in Germany as well as in Italy, there were certain things that appeared plausible and seemed to speak in favour of the régime. An undeniable piece of evidence in this respect was the disappearance of the unemployed, who used to tramp the German highroads in hundreds of thousands. And after the stagnation and decay of the post-war years, the refreshing wind that blew through the two countries provided a tempting sign of hope. Meanwhile the whole of Europe looked on at this spectacle like Mr. Chamberlain who was prepared at most for a heavy shower. This extreme plausibility belongs indeed to the genius of *pseudologia phantastica*, and Mussolini also caught a touch of it (kept in bounds, however, during his brother Arnaldo's lifetime !) It introduces its plan in the most innocent way in the world, finding the most appropriate words and the most plausible arguments, and there is really nothing to prove at the start that its intentions are bad. They may even be good, and genuinely good. In the case of Mussolini, for instance, it might be difficult to draw a definite line between black and white in this

¹ Degenerate haunter of cafés.

respect. Where *pseudologia* is at work the intention to deceive is not necessarily the principal motive. Quite frequently, the "great plan" plays the leading rôle; and it is only when confronted with the ticklish question of bringing this plan into reality, that every opportunity is grasped and any means is good enough, on the principle of "the end justifies the means". In other words, things really become dangerous when the pathological liar is taken seriously by a wider public. Like Faust, he is bound to make a pact with the devil, and thus he slips off the straight path. This may even apply more or less to Hitler—*in dubio pro reo!* But the infamies in his book, once the latter is shorn of its *Schwabinger* brand of bombast, make one suspicious; and one cannot help wondering if the evil spirit had not already taken possession of this man long before he seized the power. Round about 1936, many people in Germany were beginning to be mistrustful, and gave vent to their fears that the Führer might fall a victim to "evil influences", he dabbled too much in "black magic" and so on. In my opinion these misgivings came much too late; but, at the same time, it is just conceivable that Hitler himself may have had good intentions at first, and only fell a victim to the use of the wrong means, or the misuse of his means, in the course of his development.

But I should like to emphasize above all that it is part and parcel of the pathological liar's make-up to be plausible. Therefore it is no easy matter, even for experienced people, to form an opinion, particularly while the plan is still apparently in the stage of idealism. It is quite impossible then to foresee how things are likely to develop; and Mr. Chamberlain's give-it-a-chance attitude seems to be the only policy. The overwhelming majority of the German people was just as much in the dark as people abroad, and quite naturally fell an easy prey to Hitler's speeches, so cunningly attuned to German (and not alone German) taste.

Although we may be able to understand that the Germans were led astray in the first place, the total absence of any reaction whatsoever is quite incomprehensible. Were there not generals in command whose orders

would have been obeyed without demur ? Why then was the reaction, the result of insight, totally lacking ? I can only explain it as the outcome of a peculiar state of mind, a passing or chronic disposition which, in an individual, we call hysteria.

As I cannot take for granted that the laity knows exactly what is meant by " hysteria ", I had better explain that the " hysterical " disposition forms a sub-division of so-called " psychopathic inferiorities ". This conception by no means implies that the individual, or the nation, is " inferior " as a whole ; but that there is a *locus minoris resistentiae*, a certain instability, which exists quite independently of every kind of quality. The hysterical disposition consists in the fact that the opposites, inherent in every psyche, and especially those affecting character, are rather more widely apart than in the so-called normal person. This wide separation causes a greater energetic tension, which accounts for the German's undeniable energy and proficiency. On the other hand, the greater distance between the opposites occasions contradictions in the inner man, conflicts in the field of conscience, disharmonies where the character is concerned, in short all that Goethe's *Faust* represents. Nobody on earth but a German could ever have created such a figure, it is so intrinsically, so infinitely German. In Faust we see man " yearning for the infinite "¹, a longing that flows out of the inner opposition and the tearing asunder, that " Eros of the distant vision ", the eschatological expectation of the great fulfilment. In him we experience the loftiest flight of the mind and the descent into the depths of guilt and darkness, and still worse, a fall so low that it brings man down to the level of wholesale swindle and murderous deeds of violence—the result of the pact with the devil. Faust also is split, and he set up " evil " outside himself, in the shape of Mephistopheles, to serve as an alibi in case of need. He likewise " knows nothing of what has happened ", i.e. what the devil has done to Philemon and Baucis. We never get the impression that he has real insight, or suffers genuine remorse. An open, and also a secret worship of

¹ Goethe, *Faust II.*

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success stands in the way of any moral consideration throughout, and suppresses any ethical conflict ; so that Faust's moral personality remains misty. Faust never attains the character of reality : he is no real human being, and cannot become one (at least not in this world). He remains the German idea of the human being, and therefore—if somewhat exaggerated and distorted—an image of the German.

Hysteria consists in a so-called systematic dissociation, a loosening of the opposites, which are normally held firmly together. This can even go to the length of a split personality, i.e. a condition in which the one hand actually no longer knows what the other is doing. As a rule, there is an amazing ignorance as regards the shadow ; such a person is only aware of his good motives, and when the bad ones can no longer be denied he becomes the unscrupulous *Uebermensch* and *Herrenmensch*, who fancies he is ennobled by the magnitude of his aim.

Ignorance of the other side creates a great insecurity : one does not really know who one is ; one has a certain feeling of inferiority, and yet one does not wish to know where this inferiority lies. Through this mechanism a fresh inferiority is added to the original one. This sense of insecurity is the source of hysterical prestige psychology : making an impression, flaunting one's own merits and insisting upon them, an insatiable thirst for recognition, admiration, and acknowledgment, and a longing to be loved. This insecurity is also the reason for bragging, presumption, arrogance, insolence, and tactlessness, through which so many Germans, accustomed to keep to heel like a cringing dog, at home, earned a bad reputation for their countrymen abroad. Insecurity is also responsible for the tragic lack of civil courage, criticized by Bismarck (one need only recall the contemptible rôle of the German generals !)

The lack of reality, so striking in Faust, produces a corresponding lack of realism in the German. He merely talks of it, and moreover of an "ice-cold" realism ; which in itself is enough to expose his hysteria ; in other words, his realism is a pose. He merely acts the part of one who has a sense of reality, but what does he actually

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want to do ? He plans to conquer the world in spite of the whole world. Of course, he has no idea how it can be done. But at least he might know that the enterprise had failed once before. Unfortunately a plausible reason, which explains away the failure to succeed by means of lies, is immediately invented and believed. How many Germans were taken in by the legend of the "stab-in-the back" in 1918 ? And how many similar legends are already afloat today ? Believing in one's own lies when the wish is father to the lie is a well-known hysterical symptom and a real reason to feel inferior. Might we not have expected that the tremendous bloodshed in the first World War would have sufficed ? Not a bit of it ; glory, conquest, blood-thirstiness acted like a smoke-screen on the German mind, and reality, only dimly glimpsed at best, was completely blotted out. In an individual we call this a hysterical semi-conscious state ; and when a whole nation is in this mental condition, it will follow a mediumistic *Führer* blindly over the house-tops, "with the sleep-walker's confidence," only to land in the street with a broken back.

Supposing we Swiss had started such a war and had been just as blind as the Germans were, throwing all our experience, all warnings and knowledge of the world to the winds, and had finally gone the length of establishing an original edition of Buchenwald, we should no doubt have been disagreeably surprised to hear a foreigner declare that the Swiss were one and all completely mad. Of course no reasonable person would be surprised at such a verdict. But can we allow ourselves to say this of Germany ? I wonder what the Germans themselves think. All I know is that at the time of the censor it was impossible to say such things openly, and now it seems we cannot say them out of consideration for Germany who is laid so low. When on earth, I should like to know, may one venture to form an opinion of one's own ? To my mind, *the history of the last twelve years is the case-sheet of a hysterical subject's illness*. The truth should never be withheld from the patient ; for when the doctor makes a diagnosis, he does so as part of his effort to find the remedy, and never in order to hurt, degrade, or insult

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the patient. A neurosis, or a neurotic disposition, is not a disgrace, it is a handicap, and sometimes merely a *façon de parler*. It is no deadly disease ; in reality it only grows worse, the more one is determined to ignore it. When I say that the Germans are psychically ill, it is surely kinder than if I were to say that they are criminals. I have no wish to rouse the hysterical person's proverbial sensitiveness, but at this point we can really no longer afford to ignore disagreeable symptoms and help the patient to forget what has happened, in order that the diseased condition should remain undisturbed. I should not like to insult the healthy-minded and decent German by suspecting him of being a coward who wants to run away from his own image. One should respect him enough to treat him like a man, and tell him the truth ; on no account hiding from him that our soul is cut to the quick by the terrible things that happened in his land and were perpetrated by Germans in Europe. We are hurt and indignant, and have no particular feelings of loving-kindness. And no amount of determination or will-power can twist or distort this fact into so-called "love of our neighbour". For the sake of the decent and healthy-minded Germans, this should not be done ; they would surely prefer the truth to a kindly consideration which would only be an insult.

Hysteria has never been cured by hushing up the truth, be it in the case of an individual, or of a whole nation. But can we say that a whole nation is hysterical ? If we can say it of an individual, we can also say it of a nation. Even the craziest person is not completely crazy ; quite a number of functions are still in a normal condition, and there may even be times when he is fairly normal. This is still more true in hysteria, where there is really nothing wrong beyond exaggeration on the one hand, and weakness on the other, which can go the length of paralysing functions normal enough in themselves ! In spite of his psychopathic condition, the hysterical subject is very nearly normal. Therefore we may expect many parts of the psychic organism of the nation to be thoroughly normal, although the general result can only be described as hysterical.

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Undoubtedly, the German has his own peculiar psychology which distinguishes him from his neighbours, in spite of the many human qualities which he shares with all mankind. Has he not himself shown the world by his behaviour that he considers himself the *Herrenvolk*, with the right to disregard every human consideration? He has labelled other nations inferior, and has even in part exterminated them.

In view of these terrible facts, one might really just as well turn the diagnosis of inferiority, with which the *Herrenvolk* labelled its victims, the other way round and apply it to the murderer instead of the murdered; knowing full well that one cannot help wounding all the decent Germans who have suffered their national misery with intelligence and insight. Indeed it hurts one to hurt another. But, as Europeans—a brotherhood which includes the Germans—we are wounded, and therefore if we wound, it is not with the intention of torturing, as I said earlier, but for the purpose of discovering the truth. Just as in the case of collective guilt, the diagnosis of the mental condition applies to the whole nation, and beyond that to the whole of Europe, whose general mental condition for some time past has hardly been normal. Whether we like it or not, we are bound to ask ourselves: how do things stand where our art is concerned, that finest of all instruments when it comes to registering the people's soul? How can we explain the widespread domination of an unvarnished pathological element in painting? Our modern music? The far-reaching effect of the fathomless *Ulysses* and so forth? Here we already have the germ of the very thing that was to become a political reality as well in Germany.

As Europeans, or rather as the white man in general, we are hardly in a position to judge of our own state of mind. We are too much in it. I had always wished to see the European through other eyes; and eventually I was able to establish sufficient relationship with exotic people on many of my journeys to enable me to see the European as it were through their eyes. The white man is undoubtedly nervous, restless, unstable, and (in the eyes of the exotic man) possessed by the craziest ideas;

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in spite of his energy and gifts, which give him the feeling of being infinitely superior. The crimes he has committed against exotic people are legion ; but obviously this is no excuse for any fresh crime, just as the individual is no better when he is in a vast company of bad people. Primitives dread the sharp focus of the European's eye, which they look upon as the "evil eye". A Pueblo-Indian chief confided to me that he was convinced that all Americans (the only white people he had ever come in contact with) were mad ; and when he gave his reasons for such an opinion, he might have been describing the condition of possessed people. Well—we must realize that the primitive is still living in a world which we have long since forgotten, a world in which the whole of nature was filled with the divine breath of life ; and we are bound to admit that—for the first time since primeval days—we have at last succeeded in absorbing this powerful, animating spirit pretty thoroughly. Not only have the gods descended from the celestial planetary houses—or rather been fetched down—to become chthonic daemons, but under the influence of increasing scientific enlightenment, this band of daemons, which in the time of Paracelsus still frolicked happily in mountains and woods, in rivers and in human habitations, has been reduced to lamentable remnants, and has even finally disappeared altogether. Since time immemorial, nature was always filled with spirit. Now, for the first time, we are living in a lifeless nature, bereft also of her gods. Nobody will deny the important rôle which the powers of the human soul, personified as "gods", played in the past. It is true that owing to the mere progress of civilization the spirits of nature have lost their validity. But this by no means applies to the corresponding psychic factors, such as suggestibility, lack of discrimination, fear, inclination to superstition, and prejudice ; in short all the well-known characteristics which expose a person to the danger of possession. Although nature may have been deprived of life, the psychic conditions which breed daemons are as actively at work as ever. As a matter of fact, the daemons have not really disappeared, they have merely taken on another form.

They have now become unconscious, psychic powers. This process of reabsorption brought with it an ever increasing inflation of the ego ; and since about the sixteenth century this has become more and more evident. At last we began to perceive the psyche, we started to discover the unconscious ; and, as history shows, this was a particularly painful business. Just when people were congratulating themselves that they were cured of believing in spooks, it turned out most unfortunately that instead of haunting the ghost-room or their favourite ruins, they were rustling in the heads of apparently normal Europeans. Tyrannical, obsessing, enthusiastic, dazzling ideas thrust themselves into the foreground, and people began to believe in the most absurd things, as possessed people do.

The phenomenon which we have just experienced in Germany is nothing more nor less than the first outbreak of a general mental alienation, an invasion of the unconscious, breaking into the premises of what seemed to be a tolerably ordered world. A whole nation, and beyond that countless millions belonging to other nations, were dragged into the most bloodthirsty madness of a war of extermination. Nobody knew just how this happened, least of all the German, who allowed his leading psychopaths to drive him to the slaughterhouse, like a hypnotized sheep. Could one perhaps say that the German was chosen by fate in this respect, for he showed the least resistance when it came to defending himself against the mental danger which threatened every European ? But, at the same time, on account of his gifts, might he not have been capable of drawing helpful conclusions from Nietzsche's prophetic example ? Nietzsche is German to the very marrow of his bones, to the very abstruse symbolism of his madness. It is the psychopath's weakness that prompts him to play with the "blond beast" and the "Superman". Needless to say the triumph of these pathological phantasies, on a scale which the world had never known before, was not due to the healthy elements in the German nation. It was the weakness, akin to Nietzsche's, in the German character which proved to be fertile soil for such hysterical phantasies ;

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although Nietzsche criticized the German Philistine very freely and also most decidedly laid himself open to criticism. Here again the German had a priceless opportunity of acquiring self-knowledge—and let it go by. What could not have been learned from the sentimentality and exuberance of Wagner's music? But (through the misfortune of the foundation of the German Reich in 1871) the devil stole a march on the German mind, dangling the tempting bait of power, material possessions, and national pride, with the result that the people were led to imitate their prophets and to take them literally, but not to understand them. And thus the spiritually-minded German allowed himself to be led astray by these disastrous illusions, falling a prey to the age-old temptations of Satan, when he might have turned to the wealth of his own spiritual possibilities, where the greater tension between his inner opposites would have stood him in good stead. But he has forgotten his Christianity, he has sold his mind to technical achievements, has exchanged his morality for cynicism, and has dedicated his highest aspirations to the powers of destruction. It is true enough that other people are doing much the same. But there are in reality chosen people, who have no right to fall a prey to such things, because they should be seeking higher treasures. In any case, the German people cannot be said to belong to those who are allowed to enjoy power and possessions and go unpunished. Just think for a moment what the anti-Semitic movement really means to the German: he is trying to stamp out his own greatest fault in somebody else! This symptom alone should have told the German that he had strayed on to a hopelessly wrong path.

After the last World War, the world—and especially Germany—the channel of all others through which the European problems are expressed—should have begun to reflect. But the positive spirit failed at this important moment; it had become negative, it turned away from its most urgent questions to seek the solution in its own negation. How different things were at the time of the Reformation! Germany found an answer in those days to the insufficiency of the Christian world, the spirit of Germany came

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to the rescue with an active result : the Reformation. It is true that this solution was too extreme—owing to the looseness of the pairs of opposites in the German—for in emptying the bath, the child was thrown down the drain ! But at least the German mind did not sneak away from its own problems at that time. We will pass over what happened after the Reformation and turn to the time of Goethe. Goethe was a prophet when he set up before his people the example of Faust's pact with the devil and the murder of Philemon and Baucis. If, as J. Burckhardt maintains, Faust strikes a chord in the German soul, that chord has not yet died away. We hear it echoing in Nietzsche's " Superman ", the amoral man, driven solely by his primitive instincts, whose God is dead, and who himself presumes to the rôle of God, or rather to the daemonic rôle—as his vaunted position " beyond good and evil " shows. And where has the feminine side, the soul, disappeared to in Nietzsche ? Helen has vanished in Hades, and Eurydice will never return. The fateful travesty of the denied Christ is already announced : the sick prophet is himself the Crucified One, in fact he reaches still further back and is even the dismembered Dionysus-Zagreus. For the raving prophet points back to an age long past, which has sunk out of sight. He has heard the call of destiny¹ in the horn of the wild hunter, the god of the rustling woods, of drunken ecstasy, and of all the Berserkers, possessed by the spirits of animals.

Whilst Nietzsche gives his prophetic answer to the schism in Christianity with the art of thinking, his brother Richard Wagner answers with the art of feeling, music. Thundering and intoxicating, early Germanic history comes surging up from a remote past, to fill the yawning breach in the Church. Wagner saves himself by *Parsifal*, for which Nietzsche can never forgive him. But the Grail-castle has disappeared into the unknown land. The message was not heard and the omen went unheeded. Orgiasm alone caught on and spread like an epidemic. Wotan, the god of drunken ecstasy, had conquered. The German author Jünger, with his fine intuition, sensed

¹ Cf. *Wotan*, p. 5.
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that the age-old myth had come to life : in his book *Auf den Marmorklippen*, a wild huntsman comes into the country, and with him a wave of possession which spreads like an epidemic, on a scale unknown even in the Middle Ages. Nowhere in the world did the spirit of Europe speak more clearly than it did in Germany, and nowhere was it more tragically misunderstood.

Germany has now suffered the pact with the devil and its unavoidable consequences, she has experienced madness and is torn in pieces like Zagreus. She has been dishonoured by the wild Berserkers of her Wotan, cheated for the sake of gold and world mastery, and defiled by the scum rising from the lowest depths.

The German must understand why the whole world is filled with indignation, for our expectations had been so different. Everybody was unanimous in recognizing his gifts and his thoroughness, and nobody doubted that he was capable of great achievement. The disappointment was all the more bitter. But the European must not be misled by the fate of Germany into nursing the illusion that all the wickedness in the world is anchored in Germany. He should realize, on the contrary, that the German catastrophe is only one crisis in the general European illness. Long before the Hitler era, in fact before the first World War, there were already symptoms of the mental change which was taking place in Europe. The medieval picture of the world was breaking up and the metaphysical authority which was set above this world was fast disappearing, to emerge again in man. Did not Nietzsche predict that God was dead, and that the Superman would be heir to the divine inheritance ; that fatal rope-dancer and fool ? It is an immutable psychological law that a projection which has come to an end always returns to its origin. So when somebody hits upon the singular idea that God is dead, or does not exist at all, the psychic image of God, which represents a definite dynamic and psychic structure, finds its way back to the subject, and produces a condition in which the thinker believes himself to be " like unto God " ; in

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other words, it brings out all the qualities which are only characteristic of fools and madmen and therefore lead to a catastrophe.

This great problem affects the whole of Christianity : the authority of goodness and justice has always been anchored metaphysically ; where has it disappeared to now that it has slipped its anchor ? Is it in reality only brute force that has the casting vote in everything ? Is the highest court only the will of the man who happens to be in power ? Had Germany been victorious, one might almost have been tempted to believe in such a state of things. But the millennium of violence and injustice only lasted a few years before it collapsed completely ; and this should teach us once again that the tallest trees can never reach heaven, and that there are other forces, opposing and destroying violence and injustice, which are at least equally hard at work. Therefore it never pays to build on wrong principles. But unfortunately the world's history is not always based on such a reasonable point of view.

The illusion of being " like unto God " does not lift man up into a divine state, it only fills him with an overweening arrogance, and awakes all that is wicked in him. This leads to a diabolical caricature of man, at war with every human standard. Man is tortured by having to wear such a distorted and inhuman mask, and therefore he tortures others. He is split in himself, a medley of unaccountable and painful contradictions. We have here the portrait of a hysterical state of mind, or of the " pale criminal ", to use Nietzsche's words.

Fate has confronted the German with his inner counterpart : Faust is face to face with Mephistopheles, and can no longer say : " So that was the kernel of the poodle," he is now driven to admit : " Mephistopheles is my other side, my *alter ego*, my all too real shadow, that can no longer be denied."

This is not only the fate of Germany, it is also the fate of Europe. We must all open our eyes to the shadow that looms behind the man of today. There is no need to hold up the devil's mask before the German. The facts speak much more clearly, and the man who does

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not understand is simply beyond all help. But when it comes to the problem of dealing with this terrifying apparition, which has become such a reality, every individual must work this out for himself and in himself ; there are no general rules. It is indeed no small matter to be aware of one's own guilt and one's own evil, and there is certainly nothing to be gained by losing sight of one's shadow. When we are conscious of our guilt we are in a more favourable position, for then we may at least hope to change and improve it a little here and there. We know that things which remain in the unconscious never change ; psychological rectifications can only take place in consciousness. Therefore consciousness of guilt can act as the most powerful moral stimulus. In every treatment of a neurosis the discovery of the shadow is indispensable, for otherwise no change is possible (and this, moreover, is no newly discovered truth). As I have already said, there are parts of the body of the German people which have remained sound, and I rely on these to draw their own conclusions from the existing facts as to the problem of the shadow. Unfortunately, without guilt there can be no ripening of the soul, neither can there be any broadening of the spiritual horizon. What did Meister Eckhart have to say on this subject : " For this reason God . . . mostly sends the burden of sin to people for whom he has provided some higher destiny. See. Who was dearer to our Lord or more intimate with him than his apostles ? None of them but fell into mortal sin, and all were mortal sinners ! "

Where sin is great, grace doth " much more abound " ¹. Such a deep experience brings about inner transformation, and this is infinitely more important than political and social reforms which are all of no value in the hands of people who are not at one with themselves. This is a truth which we are for ever forgetting, because our eyes are fascinated by the conditions around us and are riveted on them, when we might be examining our heart and our conscience. Every demagogue takes advantage of this human weakness when he points, with the greatest possible noise, to the outer things that are wrong. But

¹ Romans, v, 20.

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that which is wrong, first and foremost, and most undeniably, is man.

If at this time the German's outer life is hard, fate has at least provided him with a unique opportunity of turning his eyes inwards on the inner man. In this way he might make amends for a sin of omission which affects our entire culture. Everything imaginable has been done for the outside world : the sciences have been refined to an unbelievable extent, technical achievements have reached an almost uncanny degree of perfection. But what of man in all this—man who is expected to administer all these blessings in a reasonable way ? He has simply been forgotten, or rather he has been taken for granted. No one has stopped to consider that he is neither morally nor physically adapted to such changes. With the naïve delight of a nigger, he sets about to enjoy these dangerous playthings, completely innocent of the shadow lurking behind him, ready to seize them in its greedy grasp and turn them into weapons against a still infantile and childishly unconscious humanity. And who has had a more immediate experience of this feeling of helplessness and abandonment in face of a dark power than precisely the German who fell into the clutches of Germans ?

If collective guilt could only be understood and accepted, a great step forward would have been made. But this alone is no cure, just as the neurotic is never healed by merely understanding. The question remains : How am I to live with this shadow ? What attitude is required to be able to live in spite of evil ? In order to find the true answers to such questions a complete spiritual renewal must take place. And this cannot be imparted, one must strive to achieve it for oneself. No more can old formulae, which once had their value, be used blindly. For the eternal truths refuse to be transmitted mechanically ; in every epoch they must be born anew out of the soul of man.

V

EPILOGUE

GERMANY has set the world a tremendous problem, a problem that has to be considered from many sides. The psychological aspect touches only one of its many facets. As a psychologist, I am naturally inclined to think it an important facet, but I must leave it to my reader to form his own opinion on this point. My professional work on the psychology of the unconscious often bring things to light which are still hidden from consciousness. In an embryonic condition they are preparing to be born into consciousness, long before the individual has any idea of what his psyche holds in store for him. I had an inkling of what was brewing in the unconscious, for I had Germans among my patients. Hence, as early as 1918, I wrote : "As the unconditional authority of the Christian *Weltanschauung* loses more and more ground, we shall become increasingly aware of the 'blond beast' stirring in its subterranean prison, and threatening us with an outbreak that will have devastating consequences."¹

It hardly requires an Oedipus to guess who is meant by the "blond beast". I had an idea, however, that this "blond beast" was not restricted to Germany, but stood for the primitive in the European in general, who was steadily coming to the surface as a result of the system of heaping great masses of people together. Therefore, in the same article, I went on to say :

"But the primitive's mistrust of the neighbouring tribe, which we thought we had overcome long ago thanks to our

¹ "Ueber das Unbewusste," *Schweizerland*, No. 9, Juniheft 1918.

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worldwide organizations which span the whole globe, has returned in this war¹ on a gigantic scale. But it is no longer the case of merely burning down the neighbouring village, or of a few scalps : whole countries are devastated and the slain number millions. The enemy is not left a leg to stand upon, and we see our own faults in the opponent, phantastically enlarged. Where are the superior minds, capable of reflection, nowadays ? If they exist at all, nobody heeds them : instead there is a general 'running amok', a universal and fateful force is at work, against whose compelling sway the individual is incapable of defending himself. And yet this general phenomenon is also to be found in the individual, for the nation is only made up of individuals. So the individual must also consider by what ways and means he may be able to counter this evil. Our rationalistic attitude would have us believe that we can work wonders by means of organizations, by imposing new laws, or by similar well-meaning devices. But in reality the spirit of the nation can only be renewed through a change in the attitude of the individual. It is in the individual that change must begin. There are well-meaning theologians and humanitarians who are anxious to break 'power' as a principle—in others. We must start by breaking 'power' in ourselves. Then the undertaking rings true."

While the first World War was still in progress, an article of mine appeared in French, which I enlarged and published as a book in German in 1928.² Dealing with the subject of mass-psychology, among others, I wrote :

"It is a well-known fact that the morality of a society as a whole is in inverse ratio to its size ; for the more individuals congregate together, the more individual factors become blotted out. This means the decay of morality, which rests entirely upon the moral feeling of the individual, the indispensable condition of which is freedom. It follows that every man is unconsciously a worse man, in a certain sense, when he is in society than when acting alone ; he is carried by the group and to that extent is relieved of his individual responsibility. A large company that is made up of entirely admirable people resembles, in respect to its morality and intelligence, an unwieldy, stupid, and violent animal. Hence the larger the organization, the more are its immorality and blind stupidity

¹ This refers to the first World War.

² *Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Ich und dem Unbewussten*, I Auf., Darmstadt, 1928. English translation by H. G. and C. F. Baynes ; *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, London, Baillière, Tindall and Cox, 1928.

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inevitable. (*Senatus bestia, senatores boni viri*). By automatically stressing the collective qualities in its individual representatives, society will necessarily set a premium on everything that is average and that tends to vegetate in an easy, irresponsible way. It is unavoidable that individuality will be driven to the wall."—"Without freedom, there can be no morality. Our admiration of our great organizations would soon dwindle were we to become aware of the other side of the wonder, namely, the tremendous heaping-up and accentuation of all that is primitive in man, and the unavoidable disintegration of his individuality in favour of that monstrosity which every great organization is, on its nether side. A man of to-day, who corresponds more or less to the collective moral ideal, has made his heart into a den of murderers. This is not difficult to prove by the analysis of his unconscious, even though he himself is not in the least disturbed by the fact. In so far as he is normally 'adapted'¹ to his environment, even the greatest infamy on the part of his group will not disturb him, so long as the majority of his companions steadfastly believe in the exalted morality of their social organizations."²

And as far back as that time (in the same paper) I added the almost banal truth : "Even in the best, and just because it is the best, the seed of evil lies, and nothing is so bad but that some good could come of it."³ I lay particular emphasis on this sentence because I always found it a useful warning when I had to form an opinion regarding any manifestation of the unconscious. The contents of the collective unconscious, the archetypes, with which we are concerned when dealing with mass-phenomena, are always *bi-polar in character* : i.e. they have both a positive and a negative side. When an archetype appears, things are always critical, and it is impossible to foresee from the start what turn they will take. As a rule this depends upon the way in which consciousness reacts to it. When archetypes appear in a collective form we have to meet the great danger of a mass-movement. A catastrophe can only be avoided by the presence of a majority of individuals who understand something

¹ Cf. "adjustment" and "adaptation" : *Psychological Types*, Kegan Paul, London, 1926, p. 419.

² *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, London, 1928, pp. 158 f.

³ *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, London, 1928, p. 196.

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of the effect of an archetype and can thus intercept it. At the very least there must be a certain number of such individuals whose influence can still make itself felt.

In February, 1933, lecturing in Germany, in Cologne and Essen, I said :

"As a reaction to the former exaggerated individualistic trend, a *compensatory regression to the collective man* has set in. Collective man has become paramount, and his authority simply consists of the weight of the masses. No wonder that we have a feeling of impending disaster, as if an avalanche had broken loose which no mortal power is capable of holding up. Collective man is threatening to suffocate the individual, the very individual who is absolutely indispensable, for it is on his sense of responsibility that every human achievement is ultimately founded. The crowd in itself is always anonymous and irresponsible. *So-called 'Führer' are the inevitable symptoms of a mass-movement.* The true leaders of men are always those who carry themselves, and relieve the crowd at least of their own weight, in that they consciously do not allow themselves to be carried away by the blind laws of nature that move the masses.

"But who can hope to withstand the overwhelming force that is drawing people like a maelstrom, in which they all cling together and drag each other down? Only he who is rooted in the inner as well as the outer world. But the inner door is narrow and well concealed, and the entrance is barred by countless prejudices, assumptions, opinions, and fears. We like to hear of great political and commercial programmes—the very things that have never failed to lead nations down into the quagmire. Therefore it sounds grotesque when someone alludes to hidden doors, to dreams, and to a world of inner experience. Can such a misty idealism hold its own beside a gigantic commercial programme or problems of so-called actual reality?

"But I am not addressing nations, I am only speaking to the few individuals who are already aware that the real values of our civilization do not fall down like manna from heaven, but must in reality be produced by individuals like ourselves. When the *great* enterprise fails, it goes wrong merely because man himself is all wrong, because I am all wrong. Therefore, it is only common sense to begin by putting myself straight. But as I can no longer depend on outer authority, I must have knowledge and understanding of the most individual and

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innermost basis of my subjective existence in order to build my foundation on the eternal facts of the human soul."¹

In the Terry Lectures, which I gave at Yale University in 1937, I said :

" We are never sure that a new idea will not seize either upon ourselves or upon our neighbours. We know from modern as well as from ancient history that such ideas can be rather strange, so peculiar, indeed, that not everybody can agree with them. The fascination which nearly always accompanies an idea of this kind brings about a fanatical state of mind, in which people are possessed. The result may be that all dissenters, no matter how well-meaning or reasonable they are, get burnt alive or have their heads cut off or are disposed of in masses by the more modern machine gun. We cannot even calm ourselves with the idea that such things belong to a remote past. Unfortunately they seem to belong not only to the present moment, *but, quite particularly to the future.* 'Homo homini lupus' is a sad, yet eternal truism. There is indeed reason enough why man should be afraid of those non-personal forces dwelling in the unconscious mind. We are blissfully unconscious of those forces because they never, or almost never, appear in our personal dealings and under ordinary circumstances. But if, on the other hand, people crowd together and form a mob, then the dynamics of the collective man are set free—beasts or demons which lie dormant in every person till he is part of a mob. Man in the crowd is unconsciously lowered to an inferior moral and intellectual level, to that level which is always there, below the threshold of consciousness, ready to break forth as soon as it is stimulated through the formation of a crowd. . . ."

" The change of character that is brought about by the uprush of collective forces is amazing. A gentle and reasonable being can be transformed into a maniac or a savage beast. One is always inclined to lay the blame on external circumstances, but nothing could explode in us if it had not been there. As a matter of fact, we are always living upon a volcano and there is, as far as we know, no human means of protection against a possible outburst which will destroy everybody within its reach. It is certainly a good thing to preach reason and common sense, but what if your audience is a lunatic asylum or a crowd in a collective seizure ? There is not much difference either, because the madman as well as the mob is moved by nonpersonal, overwhelming forces. . . ."

¹ *Wirklichkeit der Seele*, Zürich, 1934, p. 64 f.

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"Now we behold the amazing spectacle of *States* taking over the age-old claim of theocracy, that is, of *totality*, inevitably accompanied by suppression of free opinion. We again see people cutting each other's throats to support childish theories of how to produce paradise on earth. It is not very difficult to see that the powers of the underworld—not to say of hell—which were formerly more or less successfully chained and made serviceable in a gigantic, mental edifice, are now creating, or trying to create, a State slavery and a State prison devoid of any mental or spiritual charm. There are not a few people, nowadays, who are convinced that mere human reason is not entirely up to the enormous task of fettering the volcano. . . ."

"Look at all the incredible savagery going on in our so-called civilized world, all of which is derived from human beings and their mental condition! Look at the devilish means of destruction! They are invented by perfectly harmless gentlemen, reasonable, respectable citizens, being all we hope to be. And when the whole thing blows up and causes an indescribable inferno of devastation, nobody seems to be responsible. It simply occurs, yet it is all man made. But since every person is blindly convinced that he is nothing but his very modest and unimportant consciousness, which neatly fulfils duties and earns a moderate living, nobody is aware that this whole rationally organized crowd, called a state or a nation, is run by a seemingly impersonal, imperceptible but terrific power, checked by nobody and by nothing. This ghastly power is mostly explained by fear of the neighbouring nation, which is supposed to be possessed by a malevolent devil. As nobody is capable of recognizing where and how much he himself is possessed and unconscious, one simply projects one's own condition upon the neighbour, and thus it becomes a sacred duty to have the biggest guns and the most poisonous gas. The worst of it is that one is quite right. All one's neighbours are ruled by an uncontrolled and uncontrollable fear just like oneself. In lunatic asylums it is a well-known fact that patients are far more dangerous when suffering from fear than when moved by wrath or hatred."¹

During the *drôle de guerre*, early in 1940, I published a German translation of these lectures.² The book was still in time to reach Germany, but was soon suppressed on account of the passages just quoted, and

¹ *Psychology and Religion*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. 15 ff. and 59 f.

² *Psychologie und Religion*, Zürich, 1940, pp. 26 ff. and 87 ff.

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I myself figured on the Nazi black list. When France was invaded, the *Gestapo* destroyed all my French publications which they were able to lay hands on.

I have been found fault with in many quarters for allowing myself to speak of German psychopathy. It is—and always was—my opinion that the political mass-movements of our time are psychic epidemics, i.e. *mass-psychoses*. As the inhuman phenomena accompanying them prove all too clearly, they are *abnormal* mental phenomena, and I decline to regard such things as normal, to say nothing of whitewashing them as excusable blunders. Murder is murder, and the fact that the whole of the German nation threw itself with all its might into the most infamous of all wars is a fact that nothing can ever wipe out. It is true that a number of individuals stood out against it, but they were a small minority. The behaviour of the German nation as a whole is abnormal ; if this were not so, we should have been accustomed long ago to look upon this form of war as a normal state of things. Naturally there were plenty of reasons of a political, social, economic, and historical nature to drive the Germans into the war ; this is as self-evident as in the case of common murder. Every murderer has motives enough to spur him on, or the crime would never be committed. But it also required a peculiar psychic disposition to bring matters to such a point. This explains why there is such a thing as criminal psychology. Germany was suffering from a mass-psychosis which was bound to lead to crime. But no psychosis ever appears out of the blue, it is always the result of a predisposition which has been present for a long time, and which we call a psychopathic inferiority. Nations have their own peculiar type of psychology, and in the same way they all have their particular kind of psychopathology. The latter consists of the accumulation of a number of separate abnormal traits, the most striking being a widespread national suggestibility. No doubt there is also a special cause for this suggestibility, or it would not exist. But the fact that there is a cause does not do away with either the character or the deed. There are reasons enough for both crime and madness, but are

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we therefore in the habit of sending our criminals and lunatics to recuperate at the seaside?

I should also like to point out that the idea of speaking of mass-psychoses did not suddenly occur to me after May, 1945; I warned the public of this tremendous danger long before, and indeed not once but repeatedly. As early as 1916, before the United States entered the first World War, I wrote: "This war is supposed to be an economic war? That is a neutral American business-like point of view which takes no account of the blood, the tears, and the unheard-of crimes and sufferings, and which completely overlooks the fact that this war is really an *epidemic of madness*."¹

But when the function (of the irrational) is in the unconscious, "it works unceasing havoc, like an incurable illness whose invisible focus cannot be eradicated. Then the individual and the nation alike are compelled to live irrationally, devoting even their highest idealism and their best wits to giving form as completely as possible to the madness of the irrational."²

In a lecture which I gave at the British Society for Psychical Research in 1919, I said: "If this animation (of the collective unconscious) is due to a complete breakdown of all conscious hopes and expectations, the danger arises that the unconscious may take the place of conscious reality. Such a state is morbid. We actually see something of this kind in the present Russian mentality."³

In an essay on the Psychology of Dreams, which was originally intended for the International Congress of Psychologists which had to be cancelled at the outbreak of the first World War in 1914, I said that "the normal human being experiences his psychic disturbance

¹ *Die Psychologie der Unbewussten Prozesse*, Zürich, 1917, p. 93. This work was later remodelled under the title *Ueber die Psychologie des Unbewussten*, Zürich, 1943.

² I.C., 1917, p. 116. English translation: *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, London, 1928, p. 99 f.

³ *Proceedings of the S.P.R.*, part lxxix, vol. xxxi, p. 90. Printed in C. G. Jung, *Contributions to Analytical Psychology*, Kegan Paul, London, 1928, p. 265. The same passage appears in slightly altered form in the German edition: *Ueber die Energetik der Seele*, Zürich, 1928, p. 221 f., where it runs: "But the state of mind of the whole nation could then be compared to a psychosis."

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socially and politically in the form of psychological mass phenomena, for instance in wars".¹

In 1927 I expressed myself as follows :—

" For the old religions with their sublime and their ridiculous, their noble and horrible symbols, are not born out of the blue, but out of this very human soul that lives in us at this moment. All those things live in us in their primordial forms, and at any time they may break in upon us with destructive force, in the form of mass-suggestion, for example, against which the individual is defenceless. Our frightful gods have only changed their names—now they rhyme with -ism. Or is there any one bold enough to claim the world-war or Bolshevism as an ingenious discovery ? Just as our outer lives, therefore, are conditioned by a world in which at any time a continent may be submerged, or a pole be shifted, or a new pestilence break out ; so our inner lives are determined by a world in which at any moment something similar may happen, albeit in the form of an idea, but no whit less dangerous and uncertain on that account."—" Moreover, consider this small fraction of humanity that is located chiefly in that thickly populated peninsula of Asia which juts out into the Atlantic Ocean ! It is only this so-called ' educated ' fraction which, because of a defective contact with nature, has hit upon the idea that religion is only a peculiar kind of mental disturbance of indiscernible purport. Viewed from a relatively safe distance, say from Central Africa or Thibet, it would almost seem as though this fragment had projected upon peoples still sound in their instincts an unconscious ' mental derangement '."²

In 1929, in a book which I published in collaboration with Richard Wilhelm, I made the following remark : " In this way, there results a projection of the partial-system, and, at the same time, a dangerous situation is created, because the disturbing effects are now attributed to a bad will outside ourselves which is perforce located at our neighbour's '*de l'autre côté de la rivière*'. This leads to collective delusions, instigations to war and revolution, in a word, to destructive mass psychoses." ³

In November of 1932, the year in which Germany's fate was to be sealed, I gave a lecture at the Austrian

¹ Ueber die Energetik der Seele, Zürich, 1928, p. 172.

² Two Essays on Analytical Psychology, London, 1928, p. 223 f.

³ The Secret of the Golden Flower, Kegan Paul, London, 1931, p. 111.

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Kulturbund in Vienna, from which I should like to quote the following passage :—

" In the meanwhile they have forgotten the main point, which is that psychic life is only to the smallest extent identical with consciousness and its sleight-of-hand tricks, while for much the greater part it is unconscious fact that lies there hard and heavy as granite, immovable and inaccessible, yet ready, whenever unknown laws shall dictate, to plunge down upon us. The gigantic catastrophes that threaten *us* are not elemental happenings of a physical or biological kind, but are psychic events. We are threatened in a fearful way by wars and revolutions that are nothing else than psychic epidemics. At any moment a few million people may be seized by a madness, and then we have another world war or a devastating revolution. Instead of being exposed to wild beasts, tumbling rocks, and inundating waters, man is exposed to-day to the elemental forces of his own psyche. Psychic life is a world-power that exceeds by many times all the powers of the earth. The enlightenment, which stripped nature and human institutions of gods, overlooked *the one god of fear* who dwells in the psyche. Fear of God is in place, if anywhere, before the dominating power of psychic life. But these are all mere abstractions. Everyone knows that the intellect—that handy man—can put it this way and in quite a different way too. It is wholly a different matter when this objective, psychic fact, hard as granite and heavy as lead, confronts the individual as an inner experience and says to him in an audible voice, ' This is what will and must happen.' Then he feels himself called, just as do the social groups when a war is on, or a revolution, or any other madness. Not for nothing is it just our own epoch that calls for the liberating personality, for the one who distinguishes himself from the inescapable power of collectivity, thus freeing himself at least in a psychic way, and who lights a hopeful watchfire announcing to others that at least *one* man has succeeded in escaping from the fateful identity with the group soul. The fact is that the group, because of its unconsciousness, has no freedom of choice, so that, within it, psychic life works itself out like an uncontrolled law of nature. There is set going a causally connected process that comes to rest only in catastrophe. The people always longs for a hero, a slayer of dragons, when it feels the danger of psychic forces ; hence, the cry for personality."¹

¹ Printed in *The Integration of the Personality*, Kegan Paul, London, 1940, pp. 293 f.

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There is no need to burden the reader with further quotations. Of course I never imagined that such observations would have an effect on any large scale, but it certainly never occurred to me that a time would come when I should be reproached for not having spoken of these things before 1945—i.e. before my article *After the Catastrophe*. When Hitler seized power, it became quite evident to me that a mass-psychosis was hatching in Germany. But I could not help consoling myself with the thought that after all it was a case of Germany, of a civilized European nation with a sense of morality and discipline. Therefore, the ultimate outcome of the unmistakable mass-movement seemed to me uncertain, just as the figure of the *Führer* at first struck me merely as ambivalent.

As a psychiatrist, used to dealing with people who are in danger of being overpowered by unconscious contents, I knew that it is of the utmost importance in such cases, from the therapeutic point of view, to strengthen as far as is humanly possible the patient's consciousness and powers of understanding—i.e. the normal components of his personality. For something must be built up, capable of seizing and integrating the contents of the unconscious which are breaking into consciousness. These contents are not necessarily destructive in themselves, they are ambivalent. And whether they turn out to be a curse or a blessing depends entirely upon the quality of the consciousness which has to cope with them.

National Socialism is one of these psychological mass phenomena, one of these outbreaks of the collective unconscious, of which I had already been speaking for more than twenty years. The driving forces of a psychological mass-movement are archetypal in character. *Every archetype contains depths as well as heights, evil and good, and is therefore capable of completely opposite effects. Hence it is impossible to make out at the start whether it will turn out to be positive or negative.* My medical attitude to such things counselled me to wait, for this attitude allows no hasty judgments or claims to know better from the first, but is ready on the contrary to give what the

Englishman calls "a fair chance". Far from wanting to discourage the conscious attitude suffering the onslaught, its purpose is to strengthen the powers of resistance through insight, in order that the evil lurking in every archetype should not lay hold of the individual and drag him to destruction. For the therapeutic aim is to bring the positive, valuable, and living quality of the archetype—which will sooner or later be integrated by consciousness in any case—into reality ; and at the same time to obstruct its damaging and pernicious tendencies as far as possible. A doctor needs a certain optimism in order to save everything that can possibly be saved even when things look very black. One simply cannot afford to let oneself be too much impressed by the apparent or real hopelessness of a situation, even though this should entail exposing oneself to a certain danger. Moreover, at this stage we should not forget that up till the National Socialist era, Germany was one of the most differentiated countries in the world where culture is concerned. It was also our intellectual background to which we Swiss were bound by ties of blood, language, and friendship. I was determined to do all that lay within my limited power to prevent this connection from being torn asunder. For culture is our only weapon against the terrible danger with which we are faced through the heaping together of great masses.

When an archetype is not fully and consciously realized there is no guarantee whatsoever that it will develop in a favourable form ; on the contrary, the danger of a destructive regression is far more probable. It would seem that the psyche possessed its consciousness for this very purpose : namely to prevent such destructive contingencies.

As regards the question of "German psychopathy", I am as convinced as ever that National Socialism was the mass-psychosis of which I had been speaking so long. In my opinion, the things that happened in Germany can only be explained by the presence of an abnormal state of mind. But I am open to conviction if anyone can prove to me that the phenomenology of National Socialism belongs to the normal condition of the psyche. In Italy

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the mass-psychosis took a somewhat milder form. But in Germany, a highly cultured land, the horrors exceeded by far anything that the world has ever known. Therefore it is my opinion that the German nation has revealed depths that stand in flagrant contrast to its opposing heights. Such a condition is known in psychopathology as a *dissociation*. But a habitual dissociation is one of the signs of a psychopathic disposition. This statement is naturally a generalization, and the reader will find that I have dealt with the necessary restrictions in *After the Catastrophe*.

I am aware that the word "psychopathic" strikes harshly on the layman's ear, and that it conjures up all manner of horrors, such as lunatic asylums and the like. By way of explanation, however, I should like to state that only the very smallest fraction of so-called psychopaths lands in the asylum. The overwhelming majority constitutes a so to speak "normal" part of the population. The concept "normal" is an ideal construction. In reality there is a so-called "latitude of normality", which implies that the concept of "normality" swings between certain limits, and cannot therefore be sharply defined. A rather bigger swing, and the psychic process has already entered the sphere of the "abnormal". Digressions of this nature—which are very frequent—pass unnoticed so long as they do not lead to real signs of disease. But if definite and unmistakable symptoms arise, which are obvious even to the laity, then it is a case of a psychic "*páschein*" (which means suffering), in other words of psychopathy. The milder forms of the latter are much the most frequent and the severe cases are proportionately rare. There are any number of people who go just a fraction beyond the latitude of normality, in one direction or the other, either temporarily or chronically. If these people congregate together to any extent—and this is the case in any crowd—abnormal phenomena appear. One need only read what Le Bon has to say on the "*psychologie des foules*"¹ to understand what I mean: man as the mere particle of a

¹ Or Paul Reinwald's work, *Vom Geist der Massen*, Zürich, 1946, which has just appeared.

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crowd is psychically abnormal. Ignorance of this fact is no protection against it.

I should be glad, therefore, if those whose ears are offended by the harsh word "psychopathic" could suggest a soft, soothing, or comforting substitute, which would at the same time do ample justice to the state of mind which bred National Socialism. Far from wishing to insult the German people, my object, as I have already said, is to *diagnose the suffering* which has its roots in the people's soul, and is the cause of their destruction. But nothing will ever persuade me that National Socialism was enforced on the German people by the freemasons, the Jews, and the wicked English; that is altogether too childish—I have heard that sort of thing too often in the asylum.

Anybody who is interested in the workings of a psychopathic inferiority need only study the way in which the responsible German—i.e. the educated German—reacts to the well-known *faits et gestes*. There is no doubt that many Germans are above all angry at having lost the war. A large proportion is shocked that now that "the war is over" the régime of the armies of occupation is sometimes hard, unjust, and even brutal. They refuse to listen to the accounts of Germany's unspeakable behaviour in Bohemia, Poland, Russia, Greece, Holland, Belgium, Norway, and France. "All kinds of regrettable things did happen, it is true, but that was during the war." A slightly larger number of Germans admits the concentration camps and the disgraceful proceedings in Poland, etc., but in the same breath these people begin to enumerate the outrages committed by the English, from the Boer War onwards, and never think of mentioning the war brought about by their other psychopath, William II. It never seems to occur to them that the neighbour's sin in no way excuses their own misdeed, and that the fact of always accusing another merely shows up one's own lack of insight.

Finally we come to a smaller number—to whom the better people in the land belong—who confess: *Pater, peccavi in caelum et coram te*, we "have our share of guilt in the desolation that has spread over this world. We know that we must bear the consequences of the war

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which was entered upon in a spirit of wantonness and outrage, and we do not think of trying to escape this our hard fate, *not even by means of complaints and accusations.*¹ Such a confession can only be answered in the words of the Evangelist²: “ Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him ; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet : And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it ; and let us eat, and be merry : For this my son was dead, and is alive again.” The confession we have just heard gives us a feeling of the relief and joy in heaven over the repentant sinner, and of the discomfiture of the ninety and nine just persons.

But what meets our eye in the next sentence?—“ Nevertheless, as people who have declared themselves openly and with honest conviction, as Evangelical Christians, we have the right and it is our duty . . . to point out emphatically that, according to the Gospel, no one is in greater danger than he who, *secure in his own innocence, judges and condemns another.* . . . We cannot, and indeed we should not withhold the fact that foreign statesmen and their Governments most undeniably played a part in bringing about that first European catastrophe, thanks to their politics both before and after 1918—which *were likewise power-politics based on injustice.* Therefore they also were responsible for the consequent evils: inflation, the economic crisis, and the impoverishment of the whole German nation. In other words, *they prepared the ground for the dragon’s teeth from which National Socialism sprang up.*”

In the first sentence we read that they have no intention whatsoever of accusing anybody, and in the second comes the accusation. The contradiction remains unnoticed. When confession and repentance are followed by an aggressive defence, the genuineness of the repentance becomes doubtful. As it is hardly credible that the author of the document consciously set out to destroy the effect of the confession, we can only conclude—as is alas the case in innumerable other instances where similar

¹ Here I am making use of an authentic document, whose authors I do not wish to expose personally, for it is a case of highly respected people, whose shortcoming is a national and not a personal failing.

² St. Luke, xv, 22.

arguments are brought forward—that an amazing unconsciousness prevails as to the fatal impression that such an attitude is bound to create.

Furthermore we must ask : did Germany openly admit that she was conscious of her guilt when she “ judged and condemned others ” ? The author appears to have overlooked the fact that there are people in Europe capable of judging, who do not allow such naïve and unconscious proceedings to pass unnoticed. Thus our document has become a somewhat thoughtless and foolish monologue which is part and parcel of the characteristic picture. Parents and teachers, judges and psychiatrists are well acquainted with this mixture of repentance and lust for revenge, this same unconsciousness and utter disregard for the fatal impression created, and this same egocentric lack of consideration for their fellow creatures. The first mentioned meet it in their difficult children, the latter in their somewhat unadapted, grown-up clients. An attitude of this kind defeats its object : it sets out to give the impression of repentance, and the next minute it turns about and defends itself by means of a violent attack. This manœuvre simply makes the repentance unreal, and the defence useless. Such an attitude is too unconscious of itself to serve its purpose : it is unadapted and not equal to the demands of reality. The old saying runs : “ Sickness is diminished adaptation.” The kind of adaptation just described is valid neither from the intellectual nor from the moral point of view, hence it is *inferior*, precisely the *psychopath's inferiority*.

When I make this statement, I am *not* doing so in order to accuse or condemn.¹ I am only obliged to mention it because my diagnosis has been questioned. *A medical diagnosis is by no means an accusation*, and an illness is not a disgrace but a misfortune. As early as 1936 I pleaded for a standpoint of compassion when judging the German state of mind.² My point of view is still that of the physician and therefore, in the interest of the sick person, I

¹ It is by no means my intention to include every individual German in this diagnosis. I have heard statements made by Germans which are absolutely manly and in no wise infected by infantile weakness, which is the foundation of the German *Kraftmeier* style.

² In *Wotan*.

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must emphasize the necessity for full insight, untrammeled by clauses and stipulations. What good could it be to the patient to cultivate only a semi-consciousness of his condition, and to cover up the remaining part with illusions whose tremendously dangerous character he is experiencing at this moment in the most frightful fashion. My sympathy with the fate of the German people is great and I am only too painfully aware that my chances of being able to help are exceedingly small. I can only hope and pray that one of the worst dangers with which Germany is threatened at the present moment—besides the economic calamity—i.e. that of spiritual isolation, may come to an end as soon as possible. National isolation and the heaping together of great masses with their central organization are the German's destruction. The task which Germany seems called upon to fulfil is not political, but spiritual, and the gifts she possesses in this respect are so to speak unique. No effort should therefore be spared to help and support this side of her being by every available means.

I cannot bring this epilogue to a close without saying a few words as to the outlook for the future.

No people have ever fallen quite so low as the Germans and none have ever branded themselves with such a stigma, which generations will not be able to wash away. But when a pendulum swings so violently in one direction, it is capable of reaching just as far on the opposite side—if indeed we may apply such a parallel to the soul of a nation. I only know that this applies to the soul of an individual where there is a tendency to dissociation. There can be violent oscillations and one extreme necessarily leads to the other, provided that the subject is in full possession of his human characteristics, including a mean value, which is also the mark of the so-called normal man. In these circumstances, I am inclined to think that the minus-value is balanced by a plus-value. In other words, I believe that there is a faculty for regeneration in the Germans that might be able to find the right answer to the terrific tension between the opposites which has been so evident during the last twelve years. In such an

endeavour Germany would not be isolated, for all the positive spiritual forces which are at work throughout the whole civilized world would stand by her and sustain her effort. For in reality the fight between light and darkness has broken out everywhere; the rent goes through the whole world and the very fire that burst into flames in Germany is smouldering and glowing everywhere. The fire that broke out in Germany is the outcome of certain psychic conditions which are universal. The real danger signal, however, is not the flame which leapt up from the German soil, but the release of atomic energy, which has handed man the means of destroying himself completely. The present situation is as though a little boy of six had been given a pound of dynamite among his birthday presents. We are not a hundred per cent sure that there will be no disaster. Will man be able to give up playing with the possibility of another war? Can we really get into our heads that a Government which signs an order for mobilization—no doubt because it consists only of patriots—should immediately be executed *en bloc*?

How can we save the child from the dynamite that nobody can take from him? The good spirit of humanity is challenged as never before and must come forward. For this fact can no longer be hushed up or painted *couleur de rose*. The realization of such imminent danger might well act as an incentive to a great revival and lead to a higher and more mature consciousness and sense of responsibility. Dare we hope that it will?

It is time, high time, that civilized man turned his mind to the fundamental things. It is now a question of existence or non-existence, and surely this should be submitted to a searching investigation and an exhaustive discussion. For the danger which now threatens is of such dimensions as to make of the present European catastrophe a mere prologue.

